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Suetonius

Julius - Augustus

Westcott and Rankin



Aug. 89 on patronage
(Virg. Horace etc.)

ALLYN AND BACON'S COLLEGE LATIN SERIES
UNDER THE GENERAL EDITORSHIP OF
JOHN C. ROLFE

GAI SUETONI TRANQUILLI

DE VITA CAESARUM

LIBRI I–II

IULIUS AUGUSTUS

WITH INTRODUCTION AND NOTES BY

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PREFACE

The preparation of this volume was undertaken at the invitation of the general editor in order that, with Pike's Selections from Suetonius, the Series might include all the Lives of the Julio-Claudian Caesars.

The senior editor is responsible for Part I of the Introduction, except the paragraphs on the *Monumentum Ancyranum*, and for the Notes on the *Julius*. The junior editor is responsible for the paragraphs on the *Monumentum Ancyranum*, for Parts II and III of the Introduction and for the Notes on the *Augustus*.

The text is that of Ihm (Teubner, Leipzig, 1908), with some modifications of orthography and punctuation in conformity with American usage.

Our thanks are due to Professor John C. Rolfe, the general editor, for his helpful coöperation.

J. H. W.
E. M. R.

January, 1918.

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INTRODUCTION

I

C. SUETONIUS TRANQUILLUS

SUETONIUS, in the Golden Age of the Latin classics, would have been counted among the writers of the second order. That he ranks high in his own time is an evidence of the decline of literature. For the modern world his value lies in the immensely interesting information we find in his works.

The place and the year of his birth and of his death are unknown. His father, Suetonius Laetus, was of equestrian rank, a tribune of the Thirteenth Legion, Gemina, who fought on the side of Otho at Bedriacum, in 69 A.D., against the forces of Vitellius.[1] The author's youth fell in the time of Domitian, as we learn from his mention of certain incidents of that reign.[2]

Meager information about his life

Certain letters of Pliny throw light on his later life. The earliest[3] replies to a request of Suetonius, who is engaged as advocate in a lawsuit, but has been alarmed by a dream, that Pliny would endeavor to have the trial postponed. In a second letter[4] Pliny begs a friend to use his influence with a third person, to enable Suetonius, whom he here calls *scholasticus* and *contubernalis*, to buy a small estate in the country at a low price. In a third letter[5] Pliny consents to request the transfer of a military tribunate, which he has succeeded in obtaining for Suetonius, to one of the lat-

Letters of Pliny

[1] *Otho* 10. [2] *Domitian* 12. 2; *Nero* 57.2; *De Grammaticis* 4.
[3] Plin., *Epp*. I. 18. [4] Plin., *Epp*. I. 24. [5] Plin., *Epp*. III. 8.

ter's relatives. In a fourth [1] Pliny urges Suetonius to publish a long expected work. A fifth [2] asks Suetonius's advice upon a question of literary propriety, but gives no information. A letter to Trajan [3] begs for the childless Suetonius the *ius trium liberorum*, and the emperor's reply [4] grants the request. The facts thus learned relate to the period from about 96 to about 112 A.D.

We have an important piece of information as to a later period. C. Septicius Clarus, a friend of Pliny, and a friend and patron of Suetonius, was praetorian prefect in 119–122 A.D. It was probably through his influence that our author was appointed to a secretaryship (*ab epistulis*) in the household of Hadrian. While absent in Britain, in 122 A.D., the emperor dismissed a large number of household and public officials, and among them Suetonius. This change was in some way connected with their relations to the empress Sabina.[5] It was, no doubt, during the time of his official employment that Suetonius presented to Hadrian a statuette of Augustus, as he himself tells us.[6]

Secretary to Hadrian

After his retirement, our author seems to have devoted years of leisure to his learned compilations. Such is his meager biography, but his is not a case where we greatly regret the lack of full details. It is not probable that his life or his character was highly interesting.

Later years

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The date of Suetonius's birth has usually been accepted, on the authority of Mommsen's conjecture in his Life of Pliny the Younger,[7] as 77 A.D. Macé, in his elaborate *Essai sur Suétone*,[8] accepting Mommsen's date, 101 A.D., for Pliny's letter III. 8, adduces several arguments for an earlier date for Suetonius's birth. This letter concerns the military tribunate obtained for Suetonius and then

Probably born earlier than 77 A.D.

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[1] Plin., *Epp.* V. 10. [2] Plin., *Epp.* IX. 34. [3] *Ad Trai.* 94. [4] *Ad Trai.* 95.
[5] Spartianus, *Hadrian* XI. 3. [6] *Augustus* 7.1. [7] *Hermes* III, 31–139.
[8] *Bibliothèque des Écoles Françaises d'Athènes et de Rome.* Fascicule 82.

declined by him. It is true that young men of senatorial rank were eligible to the tribunate at twenty-five; but Suetonius was only an *eques*, and we do not know at what age he was eligible, nor that the post was obtained for him at the earliest possible date.

The allusion in the last sentence of the Life of Nero: *Post viginti annos adulescente me*, etc., apparently showing that Suetonius was *adulescens* in 88 A.D., twenty years after Nero's death, implies an earlier date than 77 A.D. for his birth.

Mommsen dates Pliny's letter I. 24, in 97 A.D. The description of the tastes and habits of Suetonius sketched in that letter is unsuitable to a young man of twenty. The word *contubernalis* used by Pliny in letter I. 24 and elsewhere is inappropriate if Suetonius was fifteen years younger than Pliny. The 94th letter to Trajan, requesting for Suetonius the *ius trium liberorum*, seems less appropriate as applying to a man of thirty-six than to one several years older. This letter dates from 111–113 A.D.

Pliny's impatience for the long delayed publication of Suetonius's writings, expressed in letter V. 10, in 106 A.D., is more appropriate if Suetonius was older than twenty-nine at that date.

69 A.D. the most probable date

Macé argues for 69 A.D. as the most probable date for Suetonius's birth. His father Suetonius Laetus[1] took part in the campaign of that year as *tribunus angusticlavius* of the Thirteenth Legion, which had been lately called to Italy after a long service in Pannonia. After the defeat at Bedriacum, this legion was forced by Vitellius to build the amphitheater of Cremona; then its officers were replaced by Vitellians, and it was sent back to Pannonia. It seems rather more probable that Suetonius Laetus would have married at Rome, in his prosperity, in 68 A.D., than somewhere else soon after the battle of Bedriacum.

[1] The Codex Memmianus, oldest and most reliable MS. of the XII Caesars, reads *Laetus* in *Otho* 10. 1.; the other *MSS.*, *Lenis*.

Friendship with Pliny

Our author's friendship for Pliny is insufficient proof that he was born and brought up in Transpadane Gaul. Macé argues, but upon very slight evidence, that he was a Roman of Rome. All we can say is that there is no real evidence to the contrary.

The word *contubernalis*, more than once applied by Pliny to Suetonius, implies a certain degree of intimacy and affection, though it is clear that Pliny felt towards his humble friend the superiority of a protector and patron. But *contubernalis* rather implies some approach to equality in their ages than so great a difference as fifteen years.

His profession

As to Suetonius's occupation, Pliny calls him *scholasticus;* Joannes Lydus,[1] in the sixth century, φιλόλογος; Suidas,[2] γραμματικός. Are we to take these words merely in the sense of "man of learning", of studious tastes and pursuits, or in the sense of a professional teacher? If he was a teacher, we should be inclined to judge by the style of his writings, the subjects, character and method of his works, and his evident temperament and point of view, that he was not a *rhetor*, but a *grammaticus* in the strict sense of the word. It is true that we learn from Pliny[3] that he was once engaged as an advocate. We know nothing of other cases in which he may have been engaged, and therefore can say nothing of the length or success of his career at the bar.

and character

We have, it is true, the impression of a quiet, modest, studious man, apparently somewhat superstitious, without much courage, decision or self-assertion and not gifted with rhetorical ability. Everywhere we observe his interest in details, in minute correctness, everywhere a sober and precise mode of expression, nowhere the tendency to wax eloquent, to adorn his page with the flowers of rhetoric. He writes much more like a grammarian than a professional

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[1] *De magistr. reipub. Romanae* I. 34.
[2] Suidas, *Lex.*, *sub voc.* Τράγκυλλος.
[3] *Epp.* I. 18.

orator. He has a cataloguer's fondness for divisions and classifications. From the rhetorical point of view he would have avoided the numerous *verbatim* citations which he incorporated into his text. He constantly seeks precision of detail; the rhetorical historians sought in their themes the opportunity to display their eloquence. But the extreme plainness of his style is by no means the result of carelessness or indifference to form. His style is marked by a high degree of technical correctness, and his *clausulae*, that is, the metrical cadences which conclude his periods, show that his attention to form was both conscious and constant. In thus writing "metrical prose", he was following the example of writers whose spirit was as different from his as their style — Cicero and Pliny. But above all he ever seeks accuracy, precision, clarity and correctness in statement and in expression, in fact and in language. His style is not ill described in his own words about that of Augustus: *Genus eloquendi secutus est elegans et temperatum, vitatis sententiarum ineptiis atque concinnitate et reconditorum verborum, ut ipse dicit, fetoribus; praecipuamque curam duxit sensum animi quam apertissime exprimere.*[1]

Qualities of his style

We have no record of any public or official position held by Suetonius before his appointment by Hadrian as secretary *ab epistulis*, about 119 A.D., nor after his dismissal from that position. Whether he saw any military service is doubtful, though he was an officer's son. Pliny's letter (III. 8), from which we learn that he declined the military tribunate offered to him, is the only information we have on this subject. It may have been that, after this, he became a *grammaticus*, feeling himself unfit for the army or the bar. It was in 105–6 A.D. that Pliny upbraided him for the long delay in publishing his writings. The work alluded to can hardly have been the XII Caesars, which appeared some fifteen years later. It probably was the *De*

Earliest historical work

[1] *Aug.* 86. 1.

Viris Illustribus. This, however, is not mentioned in the later letters of Pliny, which extend to 109 A.D., nor does Pliny allude to any published work of Suetonius in his 94th letter to Trajan urging his claims to the *ius trium liberorum.* We may therefore conclude that this work did not appear before the date of the letter (111–113 A.D.). On the other hand, it is perhaps a fair inference from St. Jerome's confusion of the two Plinys in his *De Viris Illustribus,* which was based in large measure upon Suetonius's work of the same name, that the younger Pliny was not included in the latter. The probable reason for this fact, if it was a fact, is that Pliny was still alive when it was published. Now Pliny died, as we suppose, in 113 A.D.

Relation to Tacitus

Tacitus and Suetonius, so far as their extant works are concerned, never mentioned each other. They were doubtless acquainted, both being friends of Pliny, but Tacitus was so superior in age, in position and in genius that the modest *grammaticus* would never think of him as an equal. Suetonius chose for himself a by-path in history, and never classed himself among historians of rank. His powers and his tastes fitted him for a lower function in literature. His work was a valuable supplement, but in no sense a rival to that of the great historian of the emperors. Though their books covered the same period, they were quite independent of each other.

Aristocratic friends

Suetonius must have been acquainted with men, among the group of Pliny's friends, who could supply him with rich material from their personal recollections, and he must have had access for years to many private records of the senatorial party, as he had later, when Hadrian's secretary, to the imperial archives. His associations with the senatorial party manifestly affected his sympathies, which throughout the XII Caesars led him to favor those emperors who, like Augustus, treated the Senate with deference and respect, and to take the most unfavorable

view of those who, like Tiberius and Domitian, were at no pains to conceal their dislike and suspicion of that venerable body. We can also discover some traces of pride and interest in the equestrian order, to which he himself belonged by birth. Consciously or unconsciously, he appears to have shared the prejudices, sympathies and illusions of the aristocratic classes.

Protected by Septicius Clarus

Septicius Clarus, his second patron, was an intimate friend of Pliny, his first. To him were dedicated the Letters of Pliny, as well as Suetonius's XII Caesars. It is probable that Suetonius was made secretary *ab epistulis* by Hadrian at about the same time that Septicius Clarus became praetorian prefect. The office was an important one. The modest title recalls the time when the early Caesars were developing their freedmen into ministers of state, concealing departments of state administration under the humble forms of household functions. We readily recall the case of Narcissus, the powerful minister of Claudius, whose title was simply *ab epistulis*. One of Hadrian's administrative reforms was to employ regularly, and not merely occasionally, in such offices members of the equestrian order. It was one way of playing off this order against the senatorial. Many of the imperial secretaries were men distinguished for their learning or as writers. Some of them may have composed speeches for their masters, but this can hardly have been true in Suetonius's case, for Hadrian prided himself on his own literary powers and his ideals of style were in complete contrast with Suetonius's severe correctness. The scanty remains of Hadrian's writings are marked by quaintness and "preciosity"; he indulged at the same time in archaisms and neologisms. Yet the two men had many interests in common—prodigies, curiosities, antiquities, witticisms, grammar—which must have made their intercourse a pleasure to both.

Relations with Hadrian

The principal duty of the secretary *ab epistulis* seems to have been to read and digest the correspondence coming to the

emperor from all parts of the imperial administration and even from foreign states. He must have had under his direction a large staff of clerks and assistants. We have little exact information as to his functions, but there is a description of them in the florid verses of Statius[1] addressed to Flavius Abascantus, secretary of Domitian. No doubt Suetonius's relations with the emperor were cordial. Hadrian was entirely simple in his manners and assumed no pomp and circumstance to support his dignity: —he was far too clever a man to be haughty or dull.

His official duties

We may reasonably suppose that while at the head of one department, and a very important one, that of the imperial correspondence, Suetonius had free access to another, that of the imperial archives, and we can hardly suppose that he failed to make full use of the opportunity thus offered.

Opportunities for research in the imperial archives

He cites more letters of Augustus than all other writers combined. There were many letters of this emperor which had been published. Those which Suetonius cites seem rather to be such as would not probably have been published, for various reasons which are readily suggested by their contents. And he cites them so carefully, emphasizing the authenticity of his sources, that it seems unlikely he was merely repeating what was already known to the world. One point is significant: he tells us which letters were in Augustus's own handwriting. His giving the key to the ciphers of Julius and of Augustus may also be significant. The dates and other details of the wills of Julius, Augustus and Tiberius are given with extraordinary precision, as if he had examined the originals.

Letters of Augustus

The *Monumentum Ancyranum*

That Suetonius was familiar with the original of the inscription known to-day as the *Monumentum Ancyranum* now appears to be an assured fact.[2]

[1] *Silvae* V. 1.

[2] See Theodor Mommsen, *Res Gestae Divi Augusti*², Berlin, 1883.

This account of Augustus's achievements was contained in one of three rolls left by him at his death.[1] Suetonius states that Augustus desired that it should be inscribed on bronze tablets to be placed in front of his mausoleum. The inscription was, apparently, set up at Rome in the place designated, but actually engraved not on *tabulae*, but on bronze *pilae*, pillars, which have not survived.[2] Suetonius, no doubt, knew this copy at Rome. It is not likely, however, that he would depend upon the copy when the original, in the emperor's own handwriting, was available for his use in the imperial archives. Still less is it to be supposed that he used the copy at Ancyra in Asia Minor, which, but for some slight and insignificant alterations, was probably an exact copy, though in its present condition much mutilated, of the inscription on bronze pillars at Rome.

Many scholars have undertaken the interesting task of comparing Suetonius's *Augustus* with the *Monumentum Ancyranum* as it stands to-day.[3] The net result of their investigations seems to indicate Suetonius's thorough acquaintance with the original in the imperial archives and his use of it in composing the "Life of Augustus" wherever it suited his purpose. Some striking verbal coincidences have been noted, while the contents of certain chapters are essentially in agreement with passages in the *Monumentum Ancyranum.*[4] There are also stylistic resemblances which are scarcely fortuitous. Even where discrepancies or deviations

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[1] *Augustus* 101. 4. See note to page 108, line 1.

[2] See note to page 108, line 2.

[3] In addition to Mommsen's edition of the inscription may be mentioned the following:

Guil. Schmidt, *De Romanorum Inprimis Suetonii Arte Biographica*, Marburg, 1891; Walter Dennison, *The Epigraphic Sources of the Writings of Gaius Suetonius Tranquillus*, New York, 1898; Alcide Macé, *Essai sur Suétone*, Paris, 1900, pp. 135 ff.; Ferdinand Gottanka, *Suetons Verhältniss zu der Denkschrift des Augustus*, Munich, 1904; Wilhelm Fürst, *Suetons Verhältniss zu der Denkschrift des Augustus*, Anspach, 1904.

[4] These passages have been quoted in the notes of this volume.

from the extant inscription are noticeable, these have been shown to be rather inconsiderable or else intentional on the part of Suetonius. This is on the presumption that the passages in question from the *Monumentum Ancyranum* are not deviations from the original consulted by Suetonius. In any event, it is unlikely that other manuscript editions of Augustus's account of his own achievements were then in existence. It is quite probable, therefore, that Suetonius, while secretary (*ab epistulis*) to the emperor Hadrian, consulted the original document in the imperial archives, as well as the will and letters of Augustus.

Letters of Julius

As to the letters of Julius, we know that many of them had been published. These and others may have been preserved in the imperial archives. It is not unreasonable to suppose that Suetonius examined the originals. The precision of his description of the form of Caesar's letters to the Senate suggests this inference: *quas primum videtur ad paginas et formam memorialis libelli convertisse, cum antea consules et duces non nisi transversa charta scriptas mitterent.*[1]

On the whole, however, Suetonius cannot have studied the Palatine archives long and exhaustively; his tenure of the office *ab epistulis* came too late and lasted too short a time. As for documents accessible to the public, those he had had time to consult before:—the *acta populi* and other records of the times involved in his narratives.

Date of the XII Caesars

We now come to the question of the date of the publication of the XII Caesars. Spartianus tells us[2] that Suetonius lost his office at the same time as Septicius Clarus, *i.e.* 122 A.D. Joannes Lydus[3] states that the XII Caesars were dedicated to Septicius Clarus, while he was praetorian prefect. The dedication and several other pages at the beginning of the Life of Julius were lost between

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[1] *Julius* 56. 6. [2] *Hadrian* XII. 3.

[3] *De magistr. reipub. Romanae* II. 6; Macé, *Essai sur Suétone* 200.

the sixth century (the time of Joannes Lydus) and the ninth century (the date of the Codex Memmianus).[1] We must therefore date the publication 119–122 A.D., but allow some time for examination of the archives after 119 A.D. Macé[2] for several reasons thinks 121 A.D. the correct date. Probably the twelve Lives were published, not in installments, but all at once.

Reputation

If Tacitus was dead, as he probably was, Suetonius may have been in general estimation the most eminent author living in 121 A.D. — a kind of lesser Varro. This year in which he enjoyed at once high official position and the prestige which must have accompanied the appearance of the XII Caesars, was followed by his dismissal from office in the next year.

Dismissal from office

The story of his dismissal is very briefly told by Spartianus[3] just after the description of Hadrian's Wall in North Britain. Writing in the time of Diocletian, Spartianus uses the courtly language of the late third century, which is hardly appropriate to the simple manners of Hadrian's household. He calls Suetonius *magister epistularum*, and the household, *Domus aulica*, and it is possible that he did not really understand the situation which he so unsatisfactorily describes. The cause of the dismissal is not understood; many are included, and there is not reason to suppose that Suetonius was specially involved. He went out of office with his protector, Septicius Clarus, and "*multi alii*". Ingenious conjecture as to the reasons is fruitless. Suetonius was not much of a courtier. He may have displeased the empress. Probably he did not seriously grieve over the loss of official position, and devoted the rest of his life to studious labors, without regret or ambition for material honors. The

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[1] The lost leaves may have amounted to one *quaternio*. All the known MSS., like the Memmianus, the oldest and best, begin with the words: *Annum agens sextum decimum*, etc.

[2] Pp. 204, 205.

[3] *Hadrian* XI. 3.

great public libraries, especially those founded by Augustus at the temple of Apollo on the Palatine, were probably the chief scene of his labors afterwards. No doubt he had frequented them before. He may have spent his seasons of recreation at the *agellus*, the attractive little country place described by Pliny,[1] which would be to him what the Sabine farm was to Horace. We have no indication of the date of his death. The number and variety of his works indicate a long life, for we know that he kept them long in hand and was slow to publish; *Suétone fut en effet avant tout un homme d'étude; il ne paraît pas avoir eu d'autre ambition dans un temps où les rhéteurs devenaient consuls, où les grammairiens obtenaient des procuratèles.*[2] His motive in accepting office may have been to gain access to the imperial archives. He had intense curiosity, no intense party zeal or strong prejudices; he does not have to protest that he writes *sine ira aut studio.* We may discover some jealousy for the honor of his profession. His native interest in prodigies, his taste for scandalous anecdote are obvious. Was he prone to vacillation? His conduct in regard to the military tribunate, his timidity and superstition in regard to his case at the bar lend color to this supposition. He may well have kept several works in progress at the same time, turning from one to another as circumstances or his mood prompted. His "drawer catalogue" system of composition would favor such a habit.

Studious retirement

Temperament and methods

But, whatever we may think of his unimpressive character and his plodding methods, we can only be grateful that he resisted the taste of his contemporaries for "preciosity" and archaism. His choice of a style simple and clear was commendable in an age of pretentious decadence.[3] He cannot have been a mere pedant. Hadrian would not have given him so important a post of confidence, requiring tact and discretion, loyalty and urbanity. And he

His chief merit

[1] *Epp.* I. 24. [2] Macé, 236. [3] Macé, 240.

was no flattering courtier even to the emperor himself. *On peut observer en plus d'un passage l'ironie discrète du critique qui ne s'échauffe pas, mais qui sait sourire.*[1] Not long before his own death Pliny described him as *probissimum, honestissimum, eruditissimum virum.*[2]

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History becomes biographical

The significant point in the history of Latin literature marked by Suetonius is the fact that with him biography steps into the place of history, and the same view of history predominates in the later writers. The authors of the "Augustan History" are biographers, following at a greater or lesser distance in the footprints of Suetonius. Yet of biography in a true, high, artistic sense, he has no conception. He never betrays insight into the springs of character, never traces the development of fundamental traits, never apprehends the significance of the ruler's character and aims as an influence upon the world he governs. He is not an artist, but an antiquarian. His method is to form a scheme of topics, as mechanical as the drawers of a modern card catalogue, or set of pigeonholes — the same for each life. Collecting his material with conscientious thoroughness, he proceeds to sort the items and distribute them under the appropriate rubrics. The scheme is about as follows: birth, name and family history — public deeds — private life — death. The scheme is best observed where it is most elaborately carried out — in the biography of his favorite emperor, Augustus — where all the parts are fully represented. In other cases there is less completeness and symmetry, for lack of material, or even some variation of arrangement. There is no attempt to cover up the framework, to conceal the scaffolding, to clothe the skeleton with the flesh and blood of a living human figure.

As Suetonius is no portrait painter, so is he also destitute of the spirit of historical criticism. He does not sufficiently dis-

[1] Macé, 240. [2] *Ad Trai.* 94.

criminate between *data* of great, of less, of no importance. Moreover, he has no care for style in the sense understood by the ordinary reader; we miss the ornamental features that we are accustomed to find in most of the classical authors. His language is plain, concise and businesslike, his periods are simple and clear, without eloquence or beauty. Most characteristic of all is his economy of language, such that it has been generally acknowledged that *nullum fere scriptorem tam exiguo libro tantam rerum multitudinem ac tot exquisita veteris historiae et vitae documenta comprehendisse.*[1]

An investigator, not an artist

He betrays no warmth of emotion, no generous admiration, scorn or pathos; shows no largeness of view; gives little evidence of his own character and feelings; is manifestly a student, an antiquarian, an investigator, with a good deal of pride in the completeness and accuracy of his information, but with a decided weakness for the marvelous and for what we should call gossip, especially if it has a flavor of scandal.

And yet when all has been said, his Lives of the XII Caesars can well stand one of the ultimate tests of good books: they are essentially and permanently interesting. It is not the author's personality or his literary art that makes them so. They are interesting because they are packed full of vivid details concerning real men. They tell us many things that we like to know about the chief actors on the stage of early imperial history; they take us behind the scenes and introduce us to the actors, giving us a sense of intimacy with them which we never get from witnessing the stately progress of the drama shown us by the writers of formal history. Suetonius's work was a new departure in Roman historical writing. He shifted the emphasis and the central point of view to the personality of the reigning emperor, and as he shifted them they remained.

Value of the XII Caesars

[1] Roth, Suet. *praef.* xvi.

The works of Suetonius, extant in large or small portions, or known to us through citation or mention by other authors, fall readily into four categories. The titles are given below in forms attested by ancient writers.

Number and variety of his works

I. Grammar and Literary History.
De Viris Illustribus.
Περὶ τῶν ἐν βιβλίοις σημείων.
Περὶ δυσφήμων λέξεων ἤτοι βλασφημιῶν καὶ πόθεν ἑκάστη.
De Rebus Variis.

II. Archæology and Institutions.
Περὶ τῶν παρ' Ἕλλησι παιδιῶν.
Περὶ τῆς Κικέρωνος πολιτείας.
De Institutione Officiorum.
Περὶ Ῥώμης καὶ τῶν ἐν αὐτῇ νομίμων καὶ ἠθῶν.
De Genere Vestium.
Περὶ τοῦ κατὰ Ῥωμαίους ἐνιαυτοῦ.
Historia Ludicra.

III. Biography.
Καισάρων βίοι (so named by Joannes Lydus). Certain MSS. have *De XII Caesaribus, de vita Caesarum,* or *de vita et moribus XII Caesarum.*
De Regibus.
Περὶ ἐπισήμων πορνῶν.

IV. Natural History, under the general title *Pratum*, a kind of encyclopædia, in ten or more books, of which
De Vitiis Corporalibus,
De Natura Rerum,
De Animantium Naturis, were probably parts.

The mere list of titles gives an idea of the scope and variety of the learning of this Varro of the second century. A description of these works in detail would exceed the limits of this short sketch.

Except the date of the XII Caesars, the only one approximately determinable is that of *De Viris Illustribus*, 113 A.D.[1]

De Viris Illustribus

This work was a series of short biographical sketches of Roman poets, orators, historians, philosophers, grammarians and rhetoricians; the only life now extant in virtual completeness is that of Terence. Those of Horace and Lucan also are comparatively well preserved. That of Cicero was one of the sources used by Plutarch in his Life of Cicero.[2] In this collection the books form categories and the Lives follow the chronological order, while in the XII Caesars the Lives are in chronological order, but each one is treated under categories or topics in a regular succession. No doubt the plan of the imperial biographies was merely a further application of the method practiced in the earlier work.

Knowledge of Greek

It is not to be inferred, of course, because the title of a work appears in Greek in our list, that the work was written in that language. It is a mere accident that it happened to be cited by a Greek rather than a Latin writer. But there can be no doubt that Suetonius was perfectly familiar with Greek, as were all cultivated Romans of his age. He mixes Greek freely with his Latin text, and in all probability wrote some of his works in that language. Therein he was only following the example of Cicero, the object of his veneration as the standard of all that was excellent in Latin literature. There are a dozen or more citations of Cicero in the *De Viris Illustribus* and the XII Caesars, and he never contradicts or even criticizes Cicero's statements. The attitude of unqualified admiration for Cicero was characteristic of Pliny's circle.

Besides the genuine works of Suetonius, a half dozen other real or supposed works were attributed to him. Two of them are no less famous works than Caesar's "Gallic War" and

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[1] See above, pages xi f.

[2] Gudeman, *Transact. Am. Philol. Assn.*, *XX* (1889), pp. 139–158.

Tacitus's "Dialogue"; the former error goes back at least as far as the time of Orosius, in the fifth century,[1] and was perpetuated in the titles of several MSS. of Caesar. It may have been due to the prefixing of the twenty-fifth chapter of the Life of Julius, as a convenient summary, to the text of the "Gallic War". The false attribution of the "Dialogue" to Suetonius was perhaps due to the discovery of it by Enoch of Ascoli in the same MS. as the fragments of the *De Grammaticis et Rhetoribus*, the last book of Suetonius's *De Viris Illustribus*.

Works falsely attributed to Suetonius

The title Περὶ ἐπισήμων πορνῶν is not an evidence of the author's immorality. It was probably concerned with women famous in history, like Aspasia, and with goddesses and other mythological characters.

The *Prata* was an encyclopædic work the plan of which has been ingeniously reconstructed by Schanz.[2] The word *Pratum* is the Latin equivalent of λειμών, the title given to Greek works of this comprehensive character.

The *Prata*

The extant fragments of all these works except the Caesars fill only 64 pages in the edition of Roth (Teubner, 1902), in which the Caesars fill 252 pages.

Meager fragments

In the biographies of the last three Caesars, the Flavian emperors, Suetonius was dealing with events of his own life-time and doubtless drew from primary sources. In the seven preceding Lives, Tiberius to Vitellius, he probably, as was usual for historians in those days, followed in each case some one principal authority, checked and corrected by others. In the case of Galba and Otho we possess the parallel accounts of Tacitus, Suetonius and Plutarch, upon the careful comparison of which modern scholars have expended much study. The Lives of Julius and Augustus were evidently composed from a large number of literary sources. The citations of

The XII Caesars

Their sources

[1] *Adversus Paganos* VI. 7.

[2] *Röm. Litteraturgeschichte*, § 534.

authorities are numerous and abundant in these two cases, whereas in all the other ten lives there are but five citations of historians by name.[1] Nearly all the authors cited are contemporaries of Julius or Augustus.[2]

Chief interest in Julius and Augustus

Suetonius was chiefly interested in the first two Caesars, not merely because of antiquarian taste, but especially because they were part of the Golden Age, the age of Cicero and his successors who reached the highest level of attainment in Roman literature. Other historians enlarge the scale of their narratives as they approach their own times. Just the reverse is true of Suetonius. Even with the loss of the first *quaternio* of leaves, the *Julius* and *Augustus* are together as long as the last seven Lives, and the *Augustus* alone is longer than the last five.

Influence on later authors

Considering the scanty knowledge we have of Suetonius's life and personality, and the meagerness of the remains of most of his works, it is hard to realize the wide and persistent reputation enjoyed by them in the Middle Ages. His impersonal style and the convenient mechanical arrangement of his material lent themselves in an extraordinary degree to convenient citation, and even in the scanty remains of the literature that have come down to us there are countless traces of the use of Suetonius by later writers. Leaving Greek authors out of account, and without attempting to enumerate all the grammarians, historians, biographers and ecclesiastics who show their indebtedness to our author, we may recall a few names in the list which are familiar to all. In the second century we find Aulus Gellius, Apuleius and Tertullian; in the third and fourth, the *Scrip-*

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[1] *Tiberius* 73. 2, Seneca the Elder; *Caligula* 8. 1, Pliny the Elder and Lentulus Gaetulicus; *Vitellius* 1. 2 and 2. 1, Q. Elogius (?) and Cassius Severus. Macé, 358.

[2] In preparing his edition of the Fragments of the Latin Historians, Peter, examining the fragments of Suetonius as well as the XII Caesars, found 25 authors cited, none of whom were of a time earlier than Julius Caesar, and six of whom are known only through Suetonius. Macé, 360.

tores Historiae Augustae, Aurelius Victor and Eutropius, Servius, the commentator of Vergil, and Macrobius either preserve for us curious bits of varied information drawn from Suetonius or base upon his works the form and, in some cases, the substance of their own. Ausonius versified the XII Caesars. Lactantius and Ambrose were familiar with Suetonius, and St. Jerome took for the model and chief source of his *De Viris Illustribus* Suetonius's work of that name. In the early Middle Ages Paulinus of Milan, Orosius, Aelius Donatus, Cassiodorus, Priscian, Isidore of Seville show knowledge of Suetonius and indebtedness to him. Yet by the beginning of the ninth century the XII Caesars were in danger of being lost to the world, when apparently only one mutilated manuscript was known, the archetype of all that we now possess. This was fortunately multiplied in the reign of Charlemagne by the copyists working at Tours under the direction of Alcuin. Soon after, Eginhard composed his life of that great monarch in close imitation of Suetonius's *Augustus*. Even in the twelfth century William of Malmesbury cites the *Prata* and John of Salisbury makes use of excerpts from the Caesars.

II

DICTION AND STYLE OF SUETONIUS

SUETONIUS may be said to possess a distinct style of his own. Naturally, he exhibits certain characteristics observable in other writers of the Silver Age: he can scarcely be expected to avoid the poetic coloring, the use of words and phrases in altered meanings, even the adoption of novel expressions and unusual constructions when compared with the usage of writers of the classical period. Yet his staid and sober intellect has resisted, to an extraordinary degree, the tendency to rhetorical ornamentation so characteristic of Pliny and other writers of his time. Far more concerned is he with a condensed presentation of the facts of ancient history, of ancient life and institutions. His Lives of the Caesars is a marvel of terse, compact, vigorous narrative, comprising within brief compass a remarkable amount of interesting and valuable information. Yet his brevity is not the epigrammatic terseness of a Tacitus. Suetonius commands attention rather by his simple, clear, straightforward delineation, but rarely displaying qualities of eloquence and genuine dramatic power. Even his longest periods are seldom tinged with obscurity of expression. More often, perhaps, it is his very conciseness of utterance, with undue importance attaching to a single word or phrase, that causes his reader to pause and reflect upon the full significance of a statement. But Suetonius himself never tarries for calm judgment and accurate weighing of the evidence he presents. Although he is not lavish of words, he has nevertheless composed passages of animated, concise narrative that are entirely free from a tendency to abruptness or obscurity.

The following are some of the characteristic features of Suetonius's diction and style, though not necessarily peculiar to him as a writer. Only certain of the more striking examples, all taken from the two Lives in this volume, are quoted in a given instance.[1] The references are to chapter and section of the text.

§ 1. Vocabulary

a. Suetonius, apparently, coined these words, which occur in no other Latin author:

domesticatim, *Jul.* 26. 2; ***inclaudicaret***, *Aug.* 80; ***lucubratoriam***, *Aug.* 78. 1; ***manubiali***, *Aug.* 30. 1; ***resuta***, *Aug.* 94. 10; ***subsultim***, *Aug.* 83; ***togatarium***, *Aug.* 45. 4.

b. Suetonius uses a very large number of unusual and technical words. He employs other words, as well, that in earlier Latin are used not at all or in a different sense. Bagge (*De Elocutione C. Suetonii Tranquilli*) and others have given more or less complete lists of words which illustrate Suetonius's diction. Many of these words are discussed in the notes of this volume. As examples the following may be cited:

aeneatores, *Jul.* 32; ***baceolum***, *Aug.* 87. 2 (quotation); ***betizare***, *Aug.* 87. 2 (quotation); ***breviarium***, *Aug.* 101. 4; ***catervarios***, *Aug.* 45. 2; ***cinctura***, *Jul.* 45. 3; ***civilitatis***, *Aug.* 51. 1; ***commissionibus***, *Aug.* 89. 3; ***concamaratum***, *Aug.* 90; ***conditorium***, *Aug.* 18. 1; ***desultorios***, *Jul.* 39. 2; ***duretam***, *Aug.* 82. 2; ***effutuisti***, *Jul.* 51 (quotation); ***fabulatoribus***, *Aug.* 78. 2; ***feminalibus***, *Aug.* 82. 1; ***genituram***, *Aug.* 94. 12; ***grassaturas***, *Aug.* 32. 1; ***habitationem***, *Jul.* 38. 2; ***indignabundus***, *Aug.* 40. 5; ***nummulari***, *Aug.* 4. 2; ***patriciatum***, *Aug.* 2. 1; ***permodicus***, *Aug.* 6; ***pluri-***

[1] For more detailed information the student is referred to the following works: H. R. Thimm, *De Usu atque Elocutione C. Suetonii Tranquilli*, Königsberg, 1867; P. Bagge, *De Elocutione C. Suetonii Tranquilli*, Upsala, 1875; E. Trachmann, *De Coniunctionum Causalium apud Gaium Suetonium Tranquillum Usu*, Halle, 1886; R. Düpow, *De C. Suetonii Tranquilli Consuetudine Sermonis Quaestiones*, Jena, 1895; J. W. Freund, *De C. Suetonii Tranquilli Usu atque Genere Dicendi*, Berlin, 1901; L. Dalmasso, *La Grammatica di C. Suetonio Tranquillo*, Turin, 1906.

fariam, *Aug.* 46; *praecupidus*, *Aug.* 70.2; *profusissime*, *Aug.* 75; *promercale*, *Jul.* 54. 2; *pulleiaceum*, *Aug.* 87. 2 (quotation); *rationarium*, *Aug.* 28. 1; *restionem*, *Aug.* 2.3; *subflavum*, *Aug.* 79.2; *tessellata*, *Jul.* 46; *vacerrosum*, *Aug.* 87.2 (quotation); *vapide*, *Aug.* 87.2 (quotation).

c. Suetonius employs an extraordinary number of technical phrases and expressions:

qui . . . perduellionis diem diceret, *Jul.* 12; *cum . . . denuntiaret delaturum se nomen eius*, *Jul.* 30. 3; *Recensum populi . . . vicatim . . . egit*, *Jul.* 41. 3; *inter officia prosequentium fascesque lictorum*, *Jul.* 71; *in secundis heredibus*, *Jul.* 83. 2; *divisores operasque campestres*, *Aug.* 3. 1; *reosque caedis absentis deferre statuit*, *Aug.* 10. 1; *publicum . . . et translativum ius*, *Aug.* 10. 2; *Cumque . . . aliam capi oporteret ambirentque multi ne filias in sortem darent*, *Aug.* 31. 3; *Ne quod autem maleficium negotiumve inpunitate vel mora elaberetur*, *Aug.* 32. 2; *Affuit et clientibus . . . qui postulabatur iniuriarum*, *Aug.* 56. 4.

d. Of about one hundred words borrowed from the Greek that occur in these two Lives the following are a few of the most unusual in their Latinized spelling; several of these are exceedingly rare:

aretalogos, *Aug.* 74; *Autographa*, *Aug.* 71. 2; *Cacozelos*, *Aug.* 86. 2; *carcinomata*, *Aug.* 65. 4; *coaxare*, *Aug.* 94. 7; *collybo*, *Aug.* 4. 2 (quotation); *conchyliatae*, *Jul.* 43. 1; *disticho*, *Jul.* 51; *gerontikos*, *Aug.* 71. 2 (quotation); *lachanizare*, *Aug.* 87. 2 (quotation); *myrobrechis*, *Aug.* 86. 2 (quotation); *naumachiam*, *Jul.* 39. 1; *Orthographiam*, *Aug.* 88; *phonasco*, *Aug.* 84. 2; *Pyrricham*, *Jul.* 39. 1; *technyphion*, *Aug.* 72. 2; *thalamego*, *Jul.* 52. 1; *thema*, *Aug.* 94. 12; *tympanizante*, *Aug.* 68; *xysticorum*, *Aug.* 45. 4; *xystis*, *Aug.* 72. 3.

Some of these words would more properly be printed in Greek characters, as are εὐθανασίαν (*Aug.* 99. 2) and others: especially, *gerontikos*, *myrobrechis*, *technyphion*.

e. Suetonius often uses diminutives, sometimes without their usual force:

adulescentulo, *Jul.* 56. 7; *altiusculis*, *Aug.* 73; *asellus*, *Aug.* 96. 2; *auriculis*, *Aug.* 69. 1; *folliculum*, *Aug.* 83; *forulis*, *Aug.* 31. 1; *imagunculam*, *Aug.* 7. 1; *lactuculae*, *Aug.* 77; *lecticulam*, *Aug.* 78. 1; *lodi-*

cula, *Aug.* 83; *nutricula*, *Aug.* 94. 6; *palmulas*, *Aug.* 76. 1 (quotation); *ponticulum*, *Jul.* 31. 2 (quotation); *regaliolum*, *Jul.* 81. 3; *vasculorum*, *Jul.* 81. 1.

f. The adverbs in *-im* are remarkable both for their number and their use. Some of them are, apparently, used only by Suetonius, while others are but seldom found elsewhere:

circulatim, *Jul.* 84. 5; *confestim*, *Jul.* 84. 3; *dispersim*, *Jul.* 80. 1; *domesticatim*, *Jul.* 26. 2; *municipatim*, *Jul.* 14. 1; *olim*, *Jul.* 11; *oppidatim*, *Aug.* 59; *partim*, *Aug.* 21. 1; *passim*, *Jul.* 67. 1; *paulatim*, *Aug.* 31. 4; *privatim*, *Jul.* 26. 2; *provinciatim*, *Aug.* 49. 1; *raptim*, *Aug.* 79. 1; *regionatim*, *Jul.* 39. 1; *separatim*, *Jul.* 10. 1; *singillatim*, *Aug.* 9; *statim*, *Aug.* 27. 4; *subsultim*, *Aug.* 83; *summatim*, *Jul.* 44. 4; *summissim*, *Aug.* 74; *ubertim*, *Jul.* 81. 2; *vicatim*, *Jul.* 41. 3; *viritim*, *Aug.* 41. 2.

§ 2. Substantives

a. Abstract nouns for concrete:

absentiam suam (= *se absentem*), *Jul.* 23. 2; *captura* (= *praeda capta*), *Aug.* 25. 4; *condicionem* (= *sponsam*), *Jul.* 27. 1; *iuventute* (= *iuvenibus*), *Aug.* 43. 2; *mancipia* (= *servos in bello captos*), *Jul.* 26. 3; *matrimoniis* (= *matronis, uxoribus*), *Jul.* 51; *necessitudines* (= *necessarios*), *Aug.* 17. 2; *servitia* (= *servos*), *Jul.* 47.

b. Concrete singulars in a collective sense:

equite (= *equitibus, equestri ordine*), *Aug.* 34. 2; *milite* (= *militibus*), *Aug.* 25. 2; *Militem* (= *milites*), *Aug.* 44. 2.

c. The material of which a thing is composed for the thing itself:

in ima cera, *Jul.* 83. 2.

d. Substantives, in apposition, as adjectives:

intercessores tribunos, *Jul.* 29. 1; *victores exercitus*, *Aug.* 11; *candidati senatores*, *Aug.* 40. 1.

§ 3. Adjectives

a. Adjectives and participles in all genders, both numbers and all cases are frequently used as substantives, the participles in past, present or future time:

armatis, Jul. 30. 3 (with participial attribute); *commoto, Aug.* 51. 2; *conspirati, Jul.* 82. 1; *remanentium, Aug.* 43. 1.

b. Often the adjectives have become substantives through the ellipsis of certain nouns:

aureos (sc. *nummos*), *Aug.* 98. 2; *calidis* (sc. *thermis*), *Aug.* 82. 2; *cereis* (sc. *funibus*), *Jul.* 84. 3; *natalem* (sc. *diem*), *Aug.* 57. 1; *pecuariam* (sc. *rem*), *Jul.* 42. 1; *praetextas* (sc. *togas*), *Jul.* 84. 4; *quartanae* (sc. *febris*), *Jul.* 1. 2; *triumphales* (sc. *viros*), *Aug.* 25. 3; *laticlavios* (sc. *viros*), *Aug.* 38. 2.

c. Not infrequently attributive adjectives are used where the genitive of the corresponding noun would be more usual:

clade Tituriana, Jul. 67. 2; *hostilium sagittarum, Jul.* 68. 3; *annonae urbicae, Aug.* 18. 2; *militari opere, Aug.* 18. 2; *ultione paterna, Aug.* 29. 2; *triumphali effigie, Aug.* 31. 5.

d. An adjective, followed by a disjunctive question, is occasionally inserted in the midst of a sentence, without regard to construction:

dubium cautior an audentior, Jul. 58. 1; *dubium eventu meliore an voluntate, Aug.* 28. 1; *incertum metune . . . an quo . . . subveniret, Jul.* 18. 1; *imposne mentis an simulata dementia incertum, Aug.* 19. 2.

e. Adjectives are not used adverbially as frequently as in contemporary writers:

libens, Jul. 73; *seras, Aug.* 17. 4; *veteri* (= *iamdudum*), *Aug.* 6.

§ 4. Cases

a. The genitive is used after adjectives and participles in a way characteristic of Silver Latin:

expers belli, *Aug.* 8. 1 ; *lenocinii neglegens*, *Aug.* 79. 1 ; *Vini parcissimum*, *Jul.* 53 ; *patientem sessoris*, *Jul.* 61 ; *rerum potens*, *Jul.* 72 ; *tenaciores eorum* (sc. *armorum*), *Jul.* 67. 2.

b. The genitive of quality is sometimes attached directly to a proper noun without a common noun in apposition:

L. Cassium partis adversae, *Jul.* 63.

It is even found without any noun expressed:

medios et neutrius partis, *Jul.* 75. 1.

Many odd genitives of quality occur:

loca . . . iuris ambigui, *Aug.* 32. 2 ; *Cibi . . . minimi erat atque vulgaris fere*, *Aug.* 76. 1 ; *laetum maturique et prosperi reditus*, *Aug.* 92. 1 ; *maiores annorum quinque et triginta*, *Aug.* 38. 3,

where by a Greek construction the genitive may be used for the ablative of comparison.

c. The genitive is attached directly to proper names without the intervention of words of relationship:

Postumiam (sc. *uxorem*) *Servi Sulpici*, *Jul.* 50. 1.

d. The objective genitive is freely used, often for the sake of brevity:

non sine rumore prostratae regi pudicitiae, *Jul.* 2 ; *in egressu navis*, *Jul.* 59 ; *in petitione consulatus*, *Jul.* 73 ; *facultate L. Antoni ducis praebita*, *Aug.* 15.

e. Suetonius is particularly fond of the partitive genitive, notably after neuter adjectives and pronouns:

tantum . . . hominum, *Jul.* 39. 4 ; *Quidquid . . . militum*, *Aug.* 49. 2 ; *quicquam rei seriae*, *Aug.* 92. 2 ; *per secreta Thraciae*, *Aug.* 94. 5.

After an adverb:

potentiae gloriaeque abunde, *Jul.* 86. 2 (quotation).

f. The appositional or epexegetical genitive is not uncommon:

marum pignera, *Aug.* 21. 2 ; *commoda emeritorum praemiorum*, *Aug.* 24. 2 ; *Domini appellationem*, *Aug.* 53. 1 ; *arborem palmae*, *Aug.* 94. 11 ; *Caesaris nomine*, *Aug.* 97. 2 ; *pomorum et obsoniorum rerumque . . . missilia*, *Aug.* 98. 3.

g. The dative of purpose is, apparently, infrequent except in the gerundive construction, which is commonly used:

fraudi cuiquam fuit, *Aug.* 54 ; *contemptui habuit*, *Aug.* 93 ; *iure dicundo*, *Jul.* 7. 1 ; *epistulis libellisque legendis . . . vacaret*, *Aug.* 45. 1.

h. The dative of the agent, so-called, is used for the ablative of the agent:

Campum Stellatem maioribus consecratum, *Jul.* 20. 3 ; *ara Octavio consecrata*, *Aug.* 1.

i. The dative is used with *similis*, even of persons, where the genitive is preferred in classical prose:

commotoque similis, *Aug.* 51. 2.

j. The use of the dative with compound verbs is greatly extended:

monti accubans, *Jul.* 44. 1 ; *adhibuit cenae*, *Jul.* 73 ; *tumulo . . . ascripserant*, *Aug.* 12 ; *Caesari . . . inesse*, *Jul.* 1. 3 ; *insultaturum omnium capitibus*, *Jul.* 22. 2 ; *invecta urbi . . . gaza*, *Aug.* 41. 1.

k. The dative is often used after verbs of separation and is not limited, as in earlier writers, to persons:

coronae fasciam detrahi, *Jul.* 79. 1 ; *Antonium . . . . simulacro . . . abreptum*, *Aug.* 17. 5 ; *extorquere possessoribus proximas domos*, *Aug.* 56. 2 ; *eripere legibus reum*, *Aug.* 56. 3.

l. The accusative of the inner object is occasionally found with intransitive verbs:

Pyrricham saltaverunt, *Jul.* 39. 1 ; *ludit assidue aleam*, *Aug.* 70. 2 (quotation).

m. The accusative is often used as the direct object of certain verbs, by a transfer of meaning or a bold construction:

filio tantum quod pueritiam egresso, *Aug.* 63. 1; *insidias . . . evaserat*, *Jul.* 74. 1; *barbam invaserit*, *Jul.* 71.

n. The accusative with *pertaesus* is quoted only for Suetonius:

pertaesus ignaviam suam, *Jul.* 7. 1; *pertaesus . . . morum perversitatem*, *Aug.* 62. 2 (quotation).

o. The accusative sometimes follows *fungi*, instead of the ablative:

munera fungerentur, *Aug.* 35. 3; *quaesturam functi*, *Aug.* 36; *qui suam vicem . . . fungerentur*, *Aug.* 45. 1.

p. The Greek accusative and the adverbial accusative both occur:

dextrum genu lapide ictus . . . et crus et utrumque brachium . . . consauciatus, *Aug.* 20; *alia id genus*, *Aug.* 75.

q. Like other writers of the Silver Age, Suetonius constantly uses the ablative instead of the accusative to express duration of time:

longo tempore, *Jul.* 85; *hieme tota*, *Aug.* 16. 1; *paucissimis horis*, *Aug.* 26. 3.

r. The local ablative is freely used without a preposition:

eo capite (sc. *legis*), *Jul.* 28. 3; *modicis aedibus*, *Jul.* 46; *numero futuros*, *Jul.* 75. 1; *regione Thurina*, *Aug.* 7. 1; *Autographa quadam epistula*, *Aug.* 71. 2.

s. The modal ablative is used extensively:

specie officii, *Jul.* 82. 1; *partim ductu partim auspiciis*, *Aug.* 21. 1; *vel serio vel ioco*, *Aug.* 53. 1; *sponte atque consensu*, *Aug.* 57. 1.

t. The causal ablative is very often used even where a verb of emotion is to be supplied:

spe novae dissensionis (sc. *adductus*, or the like), *Jul.* 3; *potentiae cupiditate*, *Jul.* 50. 1; *taedio diuturnaē valitudinis*, *Aug.* 28. 1.

u. Suetonius apparently regards as elegant the omission of the preposition with the ablative after verbs:

potestate abiret, *Jul.* 20. 1; *occasione . . . abstinuit*, *Jul.* 24. 3; *genero cederet*, *Aug.* 63. 1; *decessisset via*, *Jul.* 31. 2; *egredi tabernaculo*, *Aug.* 91. 1; *petitione honorum . . . submovebat*, *Jul.* 28. 3.

v. The ablative absolute is found even where the words in the ablative refer to a word in a different construction in the same sentence:

C. et L. . . . amisit ambos, Gaio in Lycia, Lucio Massiliae defunctis, *Aug.* 65. 1.

§ 5. Prepositions

a. A, Ab:

(1) Equivalent to *post:*

A cena, *Aug.* 78. 1; especially with *statim: ab itinere statim*, *Jul.* 60; and following an adjective: *vixdum firmus a gravi valitudine*, *Aug.* 8. 1.

(2) With names of towns and islands, particularly where motion from one place to another is expressed:

ab Rhodo . . . transiit in Asiam, *Jul.* 4. 2; *a Nola Bovillas usque deportarunt*, *Aug.* 100. 2.

(3) Equivalent to *a parte:*

Militem neque a moribus neque a fortuna probabat, *Jul.* 65; *Balbus . . . a matre Magnum Pompeium . . . contingebat*, *Aug.* 4. 1.

(4) Equivalent to *de:*

perpauca a se verba addidit, *Jul.* 84. 2; *singula milia nummum a se dividebat*, *Aug.* 40. 2; where *a se* = *de suo*.

(5) To indicate the duty or office:

Philemonem a manu servum, *Jul.* 74. 1; without the common noun: *Thallo a manu*, *Aug.* 67. 2.

(6) In other phrases:

non ab re fuerit, *Aug.* 94. 1.

b. Ad:

(1) Of proximity, but to denote the function:

ad cyathum . . . Nicomedi stetisse, Jul. 49. 2.

(2) Equivalent to *apud:*

navali ad Massiliam proelio, Jul. 68. 4.

(3) To designate houses by *insignia:*

ad Capita Bubula, Aug. 5.

(4) To denote the occasion or circumstance:

ad occasionem aurae, Aug. 97. 3; *ad subita, Aug.* 84. 1; *ad Kalendas Graecas, Aug.* 87. 1; *ad lumina, Jul.* 37. 2.

(5) Equivalent to *secundum:*

ad arbitrium, Jul. 20. 2; *ad libidinem, Jul.* 76. 1; *Ad hunc modum, Aug.* 46.

(6) In the expression of purpose or design:

ad opprobrium vitae, Jul. 59; *ad subsidia rei publicae, Jul.* 20. 3; *ad donum* (= *doni causâ*), *Jul.* 84. 3; *ad praetextum, Aug.* 12.

(7) Equivalent to *usque ad:*

ad certum tempus, Aug. 41. 1; *ad multam noctem, Aug.* 78. 1.

(8) In formulas:

ad animum ei responderat, Jul. 46; *ad remum datis, Aug.* 16. 1; *ad verbum* (= αὐτολεξεί), *Jul.* 30. 4; *ad summam, Aug.* 71. 3.

c. Adversus: in the phrase:

Adversus incendia, Aug. 30. 1.

d. Ante:

(1) Equivalent to *prae:*

ante alias, Jul. 50. 2; where the phrase = *prae aliis, in primis.*

(2) With a following *quam*, still governing an accusative:

ante paucos dies quam aedilitatem iniret, *Jul.* 9. 1; *ante paucos quam nasceretur menses*, *Aug.* 94. 3.

e. Apud: equivalent to *in* and the ablative, or the locative, of cities, islands and other places:

apud easdem aras, *Aug.* 94. 5; *apud Actium*, *Aug.* 17. 2; *Apud insulam Capreas*, *Aug.* 92. 2; *apud Hierosolyma*, *Aug.* 93.

f. Circa, Circum:

(1) 'Around to' or 'around through':

libellos circum tribum missos, *Jul.* 41. 2; *consules designatos circum provincias exercitusque dimisit*, *Aug.* 64. 1.

(2) Of retinue or attendants, in an attributive phrase:

Omnibus vero circa eum . . . obstrictis, *Jul.* 27. 1.

(3) Equivalent to *de:*

Circa corporis curam morosior, *Jul.* 45. 2; *Circa libidines haesit*, *Aug.* 71. 1.

(4) Adverbial, of proximity:

nisi ut . . . circa adequitarent, *Aug.* 64. 3.

g. Citra:

(1) Of time, equivalent to *ante:*

citra spectaculorum dies, *Aug.* 43. 4.

(2) Equivalent to *sine:*

citra senatus populique auctoritatem, *Jul.* 28. 1; *citra commoda*, *Aug.* 24. 2; *citra honorem verborum*, *Aug.* 66. 4. So *ultra praescriptum*, *Jul.* 28. 3.

h. Contra:

(1) 'Facing':

contra praetoris tribunal, *Aug.* 44. 3; *iacens contra solis exortum*, *Aug.* 94. 6.

(2) 'On the other hand':

Simultates contra . . . excepit, Jul. 73.

i. De:

(1) For the more usual *ex:*

de Cleopatra liberis, Aug. 17. 1.

(2) In abbreviated expressions:

tropaea Gai Mari de Jugurtha deque Cimbris atque Teutonis, Jul. 11; *praecipua militiae laus de tam inbelli genere hostium, Jul.* 35. 2.

j. Ex:

(1) Equivalent to *post:*

ex praetura proficiscens, Jul. 71; *Ex praetura . . . sortitus, Aug.* 3. 1.

(2) In adverbial phrases:

e diverso (= *contra*), *Jul.* 86. 2; *ex inproviso, Aug.* 16. 3; *ex occasione* (= *occasione data*), *Jul.* 60.

k. In:

(1) With the accusative:

(*a*) To express design or purpose, = *ad:*

in filiae memoriam, Jul. 26. 2; *in puerilem habitum, Aug.* 45. 4; *In restitutionem Palatinae domus, Aug.* 57. 2.

(*b*) Of time:

in reliquum anni tempus, Jul. 14. 2; *in ternos novissimos menses, Jul.* 76. 2; *in noctem, Aug.* 33. 1; *in serum, Aug.* 17. 2.

(*c*) After adjectives:

Pronum et sumptuosum in libidines, Jul. 50. 1.

(2) With the ablative:

(*a*) Of time, where the best writers would omit it:

in aetate qua iam Alexander . . . subegisset, Jul. 7. 1; *in illo temporis spatio, Aug.* 78. 1; especially in phrases like *In consulatu, Aug.*

53. 2; *in senecta*, *Aug.* 79. 2; *in transitu*, *Jul.* 56. 5; *in traiectu*, *Aug.* 17. 3.

(*b*) With the gerundive, following an adjective:

in capite comendo tam incuriosus, *Aug.* 79. 1.

l. Inter:

(1) Equivalent to *apud:*

professus ante inter suos, *Jul.* 34. 2; *domi et inter suos*, *Aug.* 61. 1.

(2) Of time:

inter publicas caerimonias, *Jul.* 6. 2; *Inter quae*, *Jul.* 26. 1; *inter res agendas*, *Jul.* 45. 1; *Inter cenam*, *Aug.* 71. 2.

m. Intra: as an adverb, a post-Augustan usage:

intraque lectus . . . stratus, *Jul.* 84. 1.

n. Per:

(1) In a distributive sense:

per centurias, *Jul.* 19. 1; *per singulos lectos*, *Aug.* 75.

(2) In a temporal sense, = *inter:*

per comitia (= *dum comitia habentur*), *Jul.* 80. 4; *per quietem*, *Jul.* 7. 2; *per . . . ludos*, *Aug.* 44. 1.

(3) In adverbial phrases:

per causam, *Jul.* 2; *per iocum*, *Jul.* 20. 2; *per iram*, *Aug.* 54; *per occasionem*, *Aug.* 67. 2; *per arma*, *Jul.* 16. 1.

o. Post:

post tres liberos (= *tribus liberis natis*), *Jul.* 50. 1.

p. Secundum: equivalent to *per:*

secundum quietem, *Aug.* 94. 9.

q. Sub: to express limitation or exception:

sub exceptione, *Jul.* 78. 2; *sub condicione* (= *ea condicione*), *Jul.* 68. 1; *sub lege*, *Aug.* 21. 2.

r. ***Super:***

(1) With the ablative: equivalent to ***de:***

super tali consternatione, Jul. **20. 1.**

(2) With the accusative:

(*a*) Equivalent to *inter:*

super cenam, Aug. **77.**

(*b*) Equivalent to *plus, amplius, plures quam:*

super sestertium milies, Jul. **26. 2 ;** ***super mille, Aug.*** **35. 1.**

(*c*) Equivalent to *praeter:*

super bina sestertia, Jul. **38. 1 ;** ***super templa et aras, Aug.*** **59 ;** ***super festinatas Liviae nuptias, Aug.*** **69. 1.**

(3) As an adverb, = *insuper:*

superque . . . exornans, Jul. **28. 1.**

s. ***Tenus:***

(1) In a temporal sense:

Cantabrico tenus bello, Aug. 85. 1.

(2) In a transferred sense:

titulo tenus **(=** ***nomine*****),** ***Jul.*** **76. 2.**

t. Prepositional phrases are frequently found as attributive modifiers of nouns:

genere panis ex herba, Jul. **68. 2 ;** ***appellationem mensis e suo nomine, Jul.*** **76. 1 ;** ***tristia et sine corde exta, Jul.*** **77 ;** ***nuntiis de seditione, Aug.*** **17. 3 ;** ***collegam patris . . . in aedilitate, Aug.*** **27. 1 ;** ***asperrimam de se epistulam, Aug.*** **51. 1.**

§ 6. Adverbs and Conjunctions

a. Adverbs are used attributively:

quater consulis, Jul. **1. 1.**

b. An is equivalent to

(1) *Annon:*

interrogatus . . . an essent alii, Aug. 54;

(2) *Num:*

exquirens an . . . tumultus . . . esset, Aug. 99. 1.

c. Atque stands for *quam* after a comparative:

gravius atque ipse sensisset exceptam, Jul. 14. 1.

d. Et is very commonly used for *etiam:*

Dilexit et reginas, Jul. 52. 1.

So *sed et* is often found for *sed etiam,* following *non modo, non solum:*

non tribunatum modo . . . sed et praefecturas, Aug. 38. 2; with *etiam* added: *Non enim honores modo . . . sed et ampliora etiam, Jul.* 76. 1.

e. Sed et is often used at the beginning of a chapter or period in the sense of *ἀλλὰ μὴν καί,* 'and what is more':

sed et statuas . . . reposuit, Jul. 75. 4.

f. Igitur occurs at the beginning of a sentence:

Igitur grassaturas . . . inhibuit, Aug. 32. 1; *Igitur . . . creatur, Jul.* 19. 2.

g. Itaque is often postpositive:

Crebro itaque illa iactabat, Aug. 25. 4.

h. Item is often equivalent to *et* or *etiam:*

(1) In enumerations:

Lecticarum usum, item conchyliatae vestis et margaritarum, Jul. 43. 1.

(2) To recall the verb of the first clause:

pronuntiavit senatus consultum . . . item ius iurandum, Jul. 84. 2; *item navale proelium, Aug.* 43. 1.

i. Mox always has the meaning, usual in Silver Latin, of 'afterward':

Mox et ipse . . . optinuit, Jul. 23. 1; *nec mox occasio . . . fuit, Aug.* 47.

j. Neque is sometimes equivalent to *neque vero, nec tamen, ne . . . quidem:*

Nec obtinuit, Jul. 11; *Sed nec Tiberio parcit, Aug.* 86. 2.

k. -Que is appended to prepositions:

deque, Jul. 11; *exque, Aug.* 52; *perque, Jul.* 1. 2.

l. Non nisi, priusquam, quamvis, quasi, quamquam and *tamquam* are freely used with the ablative absolute:

non nisi transversa charta, Jul. 56. 6; *quanquam . . . morbo variante, Aug.* 98. 5; *quamvis nullo querente, Jul.* 48; *quasi debita . . . dominatione, Aug.* 19. 2.

m. These and other conjunctions are also used with adjectives and participles:

non nisi scriptos, Aug. 84. 2; *neque . . . ante . . . quam paene obrutus, Jul.* 58. 2; *quanquam patricius, Aug.* 10. 2; *quamvis recusantem, Jul.* 70; *velut . . . exceptam, Jul.* 14. 1.

n. Tamquam and (more often) *quasi* are used, as in Tacitus, to introduce a clause with the subjunctive where the infinitive with subject accusative might be expected:

tenet . . . opinio tamquam et natus ibi sit, Aug. 6; *concepta opinione veteri quasi . . . obiciatur, Aug.* 6; *rumore . . . dilato quasi . . . necasset, Aug.* 14; *somnium . . . exponunt, quasi . . . demonstrasset, Aug.* 94. 8.

§ 7. Tenses

a. The present indicative is frequently used in quoting authorities:

Idem Curio sed et M. Actorius Naso auctores sunt, Jul. 9. 3; *ut scribit, Aug.* 62. 2; *Verba ipsius . . . sunt, Aug.* 76. 1.

b. The historical present is very rarely used:

Igitur cum Bibulo consul creatur, Jul. 19. 2; *aversum vulnerat, Jul.* 82. 1.

c. The perfect indicative is found in the apodosis of a past general condition or its equivalent, where the imperfect would be more usual:

si qua posthac aut cogitarentur . . . aut dicerentur, inhibere maluit, Jul. 75. 4; *potestatem semper omnibus fecit quotiens vellent obsides recipiendi, Aug.* 21. 2.

d. The present subjunctive is sometimes used where we should expect the imperfect:

elegit, cuius emolumento . . . sit, Jul. 22. 1; *censuit . . . qui . . . edant, Aug.* 55.

e. No other writer uses the perfect subjunctive more freely for the imperfect or pluperfect in subordinate clauses:

(1) After *ut* consecutive, in larger proportion, apparently, than the imperfect, even where there is no aoristic idea:

si flumina morarentur, . . . ut persaepe . . . praevenerit, Jul. 57; *adeo suspecta mors fuit ut . . . custoditus sit, Aug.* 11.

(2) When preceded by *ut qui* (= *quippe qui*):

dedit, ut qui . . . abstulerit, Jul. 54. 3.

(3) When preceded by some relative conjunction:

intolerabilius est visum quod ipse . . . indignatus sit, Jul. 78. 2; *valuit, quanquam . . . responderit, Jul.* 79. 2.

(4) In indirect discourse:

Sullam nescisse litteras, qui dictaturam deposuerit, Jul. 77; *nec prius . . . venisse quam . . . fugatae sint, Aug.* 16. 2.

f. More notable still is the union of imperfect and perfect subjunctive in the same clause:

tantum undique confluxit hominum ut plerique . . . manerent ac saepe . . . elisi exanimatique sint, *Jul.* 39. 4.

g. On the contrary, the imperfect subjunctive occurs for the perfect in consecutive clauses to express a single act:

Eoque arrogantiae progressus est ut . . . diceret, *Jul.* 77; *evenit ut . . . inveniretur*, *Aug.* 6; *tam arto repente somno devinctus ut . . . excitaretur*, *Aug.* 16. 1; *evenit ut . . . caderet supinus*, *Aug.* 43. 5.

h. In the compound tenses of the passive Suetonius often uses *fueram*, *fuissem*, etc., for *eram*, *essem*, etc.:

fuerat occisus, *Jul.* 84. 1; *fuerat usus*, *Aug.* 18. 2; *prosecutus fuisset*, *Aug.* 66. 4.

§ 8. Moods

a. The potential subjunctive, especially in the perfect tense, is very often used in modest affirmations:

maiora etiam indicia fuerint, *Jul.* 63; *satis certa probatione tradiderim*, *Aug.* 7. 1; *praebitam Antonio materiam putem*, *Aug.* 16. 2.

b. The perfect indicative occurs in the apodosis of an unreal condition in past time:

penetravit, nisi . . . recusasset, *Jul.* 52. 1.

c. Tenses of the indicative are sometimes retained in subordinate clauses of indirect discourse, and where attraction to the subjunctive might be expected:

quia . . . responderat, *Jul.* 46; *quos tenebat*, *Jul.* 64; *ut destinarat*, *Aug.* 79. 1.

d. The imperfect subjunctive is used with *antequam*, *priusquam* and *pridie quam* in the statement of facts, where the earlier writers would have used the perfect indicative:

ante paucos quam nasceretur menses, *Aug.* 94. 3; *prius quam pareret*, *Aug.* 94. 4; *pridie quam occideretur*, *Jul.* 87.

e. *Cum primum* occurs with the subjunctive where the perfect indicative would be the regular construction:

Cum primum fari coepisset, *Aug.* 94. 7.

f. Dum, 'while', is regularly followed by the present indicative, but is found once with the imperfect subjunctive:

dum . . . deportaretur, *Aug.* 78. 2.

g. The subjunctive often follows *quamquam*:

quamquam . . . invitaretur, *Jul.* 3.

h. The subjunctive of iteration or generalization is frequently used in temporal and conditional clauses:

non cum obsiderentur modo sed et si ipsi alios obsiderent, *Jul.* 68. 2; *Quidquid . . . militum esset*, *Aug.* 49. 2; *prout libuisset*, *Aug.* 35. 4; *quotiensque opus esset*, *Aug.* 37.

i. The subjunctive is used, as in Tacitus, in clauses introduced by *tamquam* and *quasi* to express the alleged or imagined reason of a charge or belief:

quasi Cornelius is esset, *Jul.* 85; *quasi . . . indidisset*, *Aug.* 11; *quasi . . . iactassent*, *Aug.* 12; *tamquam . . . educaretur*, *Aug.* 94. 8 (in indirect discourse).

j. The subjunctive in causal clauses after *ut qui* is used for the more common *quippe qui* and the subjunctive:

ut qui . . . sustinuerit, *Aug.* 66. 4; *ut in quibus . . . essent*, *Aug.* 72. 1.

k. Substantive clauses are frequently used without *ut* after verbs of *asking*, *admonishing*, *commanding* and the like:

egit . . . id potius . . . ferrent, *Jul.* 26. 1; *instituit . . . subsortitio a praetore fieret*, *Jul.* 41. 3; *hortatur et monet imitetur*, *Aug.* 3. 2.

l. These substantive clauses are sometimes used where some other form of expression might be expected:

hoc quoque adiecit, ne . . . adipisceretur, *Aug.* 40. 4; *ambirent . . . ne filias in sortem darent*, *Aug.* 31. 3; *rettulit . . . ut ei succederetur*, *Jul.* 28. 2; *temptavit . . . ut sibi Aegyptus . . . daretur*, *Jul.* 11.

m. Clauses introduced by *ut*, often preceded by *ita* and similar words, are used to express a restriction or proviso:

ita magnos . . . esse voluit ut tamen pari iure essent, *Aug.* 56. 2; *sed ut . . . expergisceretur*, *Aug.* 78. 1; *non tamen ut . . . auderet*, *Aug.* 89. 1; *sed ut . . . redierint*, *Jul.* 69.

§ 9. Participles, Infinitives, Gerunds and Gerundives

a. No writer, probably, uses a larger number of participles than Suetonius, who employs them in a variety of constructions, often for the sake of greater brevity, but hardly with the admirable perspicuity of Livy. Eight, ten or more participles occur in a single period:

eight in a sentence of five lines in *Jul.* 62; ten in a somewhat longer sentence in *Aug.* 16. 1, *Siculum bellum . . . effecit;* fourteen in a single long period in *Aug.* 27. 3 f., *Nam et Pinarium . . . insidiis perisse.*

(1) The future active participle is often used to express purpose or design, as in Greek, as well as time and other relations:

successuri sibi, *Jul.* 21; *quam primum transfretaturi*, *Jul.* 34. 1; *vindicaturus si quid . . . constitutum esset*, *Jul.* 30. 1; *Tiberium . . . dimissurus et Beneventum usque prosecuturus*, *Aug.* 97. 3.

(2) The perfect participle is commonly used in the present sense after Livy's time:

nando . . . evasit . . . elata laeva . . . trahens, *Jul.* 64; *subsecutus*, *Aug.* 8. 1.

(3) The present is sometimes used because of the lack of a perfect active participle:

Ac subinde . . . admonens, *Jul.* 65.

(4) The impersonal use of the participle in the ablative absolute occurs, often with the force of an adverb:

augurato, *Aug.* 7. 2; *consulto*, *Jul.* 56. 4; *sortito*, *Aug.* 30. 1.

(5) The participle is also used in the ablative absolute with the subject omitted, but readily supplied:

absoluto, *Jul.* 4. 1; *trucidatis quos placitum esset*, *Jul.* 9. 1; *absterrito*, *Jul.* 20. 3; *non audentibus facere quibus optigerat*, *Aug.* 10. 1.

(6) Participles used as adjectives are freely compared:

cautior an audentior, *Jul.* 58. 1; *deductiorem*, *Aug.* 79. 2; *despectissimum*, *Jul.* 59.

b. (1) The infinitive, both with and without subject accusative, is frequently used after verbs and expressions where a different construction would be expected in the writers of classical prose:

Feminis . . . spectare concessit, *Aug.* 44. 2; *contentus . . . removisse*, *Aug.* 40. 4; *impedire rem destitit*, *Jul.* 14. 2; *dubium . . . sit . . . flagrasse*, *Jul.* 52. 3; *confodi imperavit*, *Aug.* 27. 3; *metus ceperat . . . ausurum eum*, *Jul.* 19. 1; *Componi . . . offendebatur*, *Aug.* 89. 3; *permisit . . . intervisere*, *Aug.* 24. 1; *corrigi praecepit*, *Aug.* 99. 1; *prohibuit . . . frequentare*, *Aug.* 31. 4; *introire . . . religio est*, *Aug.* 6; *deflectere . . . supersedit*, *Aug.* 93.

(2) The passive infinitive occurs with the active *coepi:*

expleri coepisset, *Jul.* 26. 1.

c. (1) The accusative of the gerund and gerundive, by a rare usage, is found after *inter:*

inter res agendas, *Jul.* 45. 1; *inter spectandum*, *Aug.* 45. 1.

(2) The genitive of both gerund and gerundive is used after *gratiam facere* in a striking way:

Bononiensibus . . . gratiam fecit coniurandi, *Aug.* 17. 2; *reddendi equi gratiam fecit eis*, *Aug.* 38. 3.

(3) The genitive of the gerundive occurs with *causâ* preceding:

causâ detrectandi sacramenti, *Aug.* 24. 1.

(4) Striking is the use of the gerund in the genitive both with and without an object in coördinate constructions:

iocandi licentia diripiendique . . . missilia, *Aug.* 98. 3.

§ 10. Figures of Speech

a. Inconcinnity. Suetonius takes no pains to produce concinnity by means of figures of speech and rhetorical devices. Figures of rhetoric, comparatively speaking, seldom occur and are sometimes not employed of set purpose. Inconcinnity is effected in various ways, even in the expression of correlative members:

gratuitam et sine frumento stipendioque operam, *Jul.* 68. 1; *sive divinitus sive aliqua coniectura*, *Jul.* 1. 3; *taciti et ibidem statim*, *Aug.* 39; *in continentem lenioribusque paulo condicionibus*, *Aug.* 65. 3; *ad declinandam invidiam et ut . . . operam daret*, *Jul.* 4. 1; *in memoriam . . . vel quod . . . prospere gesserat*, *Aug.* 7. 1; *imposne mentis an simulata dementia incertum*, *Aug.* 19. 2.

b. Certain irregularities are noticeable in the position of individual words:

(1) The appositive before its noun, especially when it expresses official position or relationship:

dictatore Sulla, *Jul.* 1. 1; *collega eius Marcus Bibulus*, *Jul.* 10. 1; *avunculus Caesar*, *Aug.* 94. 9.

(2) The adjective often precedes in proper names:

Magni Alexandri, *Jul.* 7. 1; *Magnum Pompeium*, *Aug.* 4. 1.

(3) The gentile name follows the cognomen:

Calvi Licini, *Jul.* 49. 1; *Crispus Sallustius*, *Aug.* 86. 3.

(4) Attributive words in unusual positions:

quattuor quibus in conspectum venit horis, *Jul.* 35. 2; *plurium quam quisquam umquam dierum supplicationes*, *Jul.* 24. 3; *ad tam insignem despecti senatus contumeliam*, *Jul.* 79. 1.

c. Zeugma is not infrequent:

dimissis octo legionibus Transalpinaque Gallia, *Jul.* 29. 2; *et vi necopinantis et . . . legibus adgredi*, *Aug.* 10. 1; *Ne quod autem maleficium negotiumve . . . elaberetur*, *Aug.* 32. 2; *alios poena, alios ignominia notavit, plures admonitione*, *Aug.* 39.

d. Ellipsis. Among the more unusual forms are these:

(1) Most common is the omission of the infinitives of *sum*, present, past and future:

occisum (sc. *esse*) *eum heredemque se* (sc. *esse*) *comperit*, *Aug.* 8. 2; *Etiam cultu notabilem* (sc. *fuisse*) *ferunt*, *Jul.* 45. 3; *quem vel praecipuum adiutorem* (sc. *futurum esse*) *speraverat*, *Aug.* 10. 2.

(2) Pronouns, especially forms of *is*, are often omitted:

ex equitibus R. (sc. *eos*) *creavit*, *Aug.* 40. 1; *et* (sc. *eis*) *qui . . . confugerant*, *Jul.* 5; *hoc quoque . . . allegaret*, (sc. *se*) *esse possessorem*, *Aug.* 5.

(3) The infinitive in the same form is not repeated after *posse*, *solere*, *coepi*, etc.:

Pompeium primum rogare sententiam coepit, cum Crassum soleret, *Jul.* 21.

e. Pleonasm but seldom occurs, and in short phrases:

de eius ac patris sui utraque origine, *Jul.* 6. 1; *quodam modo pro parte aliqua*, *Aug.* 46; *eventus ante praesensit*, *Aug.* 96. 1; *simul ac primum*, *Jul.* 30. 3.

f. Asyndeton is employed to an excessive degree, both of single words and phrases and of entire sentences:

(1) It is more marked in brief sentences:

Aug. 8. 1 (four sentences); *Aug.* 22 (three sentences); *Aug.* 44. 2 f. (four sentences).

(2) Asyndetic sentences are sometimes used to explain and illustrate, as it were, words placed as a heading at the beginning of a chapter:

Unus . . . omnia in re publica . . . administravit, *Jul.* 20. 2 ff., explained by the sentences following without any connective.

(3) Though the conjunction is omitted, a kind of connection is sometimes effected by a word at the beginning of a sentence, especially a word repeated from the preceding sentence:

Adicit his Aquilius Niger, *Aug.* 11; *Publica opera plurima extruxit . . . forum cum aede Martis Ultoris*, *templum . . . aedem . . . Fori extruendi causa . . . Aedem Martis . . . Templum Apollinis . . . Tonanti Iovi aedem . . .*, *Aug.* 29. 1–3.

(4) Adversative asyndeton is frequent, both of words and of sentences:

Priore . . . sequenti, *Aug.* 10. 4; *Sed Gallo . . . irasci. Reliqui potentia . . . floruerunt*, *Aug.* 66. 2 f.

(5) Asyndeton is particularly frequent in members of sentences, especially in enumerations:

Fuisse traditur excelsa statura, colore candido, teretibus membris, ore paulo pleniore, nigris vegetisque oculis, valitudine prospera, *Jul.* 45. 1; *genu nixus deiecta ab umeris toga nudo pectore*, *Aug.* 52; *Bella . . . gessit: Mutinense, Philippense, Perusinum, Siculum, Actiacum*, *Aug.* 9; *Meminerunt . . . Geminus in historia, . . . Bibulus in edictis, C. Curio pater in orationibus*, *Jul.* 9. 2.

g. Polysyndeton is rare:

et spectaculo . . . interfuit et formam . . . consideravit et ex consuetudine . . . dedit, *Jul.* 31. 1; *splendidam quoque atque etiam magnificam et generosam*, *Jul.* 55. 1; *plurima et formidulosissima et vana et irrita videbat*, *Aug.* 91. 1.

h. Chiasmus often occurs in the arrangement of parts of a sentence, rarely in the case of entire sentences:

detrectante dominationem atque assertores flagitante, *Jul.* 80. 1; *Sed haec alii; ipse Augustus nihil . . . scribit*, *Aug.* 2. 3; *fusis armamentis et gubernaculo diffracto*, *Aug.* 17. 3; *assurrectum ab universis in theatro et a stantibus plausum*, *Aug.* 56. 2. Striking is the chiastic arrangement in pairs in *Jul.* 45. 1, quoted under *f.* (5), above.

i. Hendiadys is rarely met in Suetonius:

post magnam pugnam atque victoriam, *Jul.* 67. 1; *ex consuetudine licentiaque bellorum civilium*, *Aug.* 32. 1; *habitum vestitumque*, *Aug.* 40. 5.

j. Hypallage occurs:

de cetero numero candidatorum, *Jul.* 41. 2; *communem sepulturae honorem*, *Aug.* 17. 4.

k. Litotes is especially frequent in expressions like *non sine*, *non minor*, etc.:

nec sine iure iurando, *Jul.* 30. 3; *non sine periculo*, *Aug.* 28. 1; *non minore acerbitate*, *Jul.* 73; *male quietas*, *Aug.* 21. 1; *nihil non ausurum eum*, *Jul.* 19. 1; *nullius non facinoris*, *Aug.* 32. 1; *nemini non*, *Jul.* 75. 2.

l. Praeteritio: sustained use of this figure is found in *Jul.* 49. 1:

Omitto . . . versus . . . Praetereo actiones . . . Missa etiam facio edicta. Cf. also *Aug.* 51. 1, *Ne enumerem*; *Aug.* 57. 1, *Omitto senatus consulta.*

m. Prolepsis rarely occurs:

Nursinos . . . extorres oppido egit, *Aug.* 12.

III

MANUSCRIPTS AND EDITIONS OF SUETONIUS

A. Manuscripts

MANUSCRIPTS of Suetonius in immense numbers are to be found in the various libraries of Europe and Great Britain. Many of them have been thoroughly collated and carefully appraised, but there is still no general consensus of opinion regarding the classification of individual manuscripts and the relationship which exists between certain of the more important ones and those which, until more recent years, were considered of little or no authority in establishing the text of Suetonius. This is particularly true of manuscripts of the fifteenth century. Their real value and their relation to other manuscripts are yet to be determined by means of even more extensive collations than have been published. Among the more valuable manuscripts, the following are now pretty generally recognized.[1]

M. — *Codex Memmianus*, of the ninth century, now *Parisinus* 6115, in the National Library in Paris. From Tours, where it was known in the twelfth century, it came into the possession of Henri de Mesmes in the sixteenth century and is still known as *Memmianus*, though it bore other names, as *Turonensis*, *Pithoeanus*, at different times. It next came into

[1] For discussions and other references than those here given, see K. L. Roth, *Praefatio*, XX ff.; C. L. Smith, *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, XII (1901), 19 ff., XVI (1905), 1 ff.; A. A. Howard, *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, XII (1901), 261 ff.; M. L. Preud'homme, *Troisième Étude sur l'Histoire du Texte de Suétone de Vita Caesarum*, Brussels, 1904; M. Ihm, *editio maior*, 1907, *Praefatio*, VII ff.

Émeric Bigot's library, which was purchased in 1706 for the library which now contains the precious manuscript. It is the oldest and most reliable, by common agreement, of all the manuscripts as yet discovered and examined. It lacks the dedicatory epistle, which was known in the sixth century, the title of the *Lives* and the first part of the *Julius.* The first five words of our present text, *Annum agens sextum decimum patrem,* are written in red ink, in capitals, and the initial A is higher than the other letters, thus indicating the loss of the first part of the text before the manuscript was written.

G. — *Codex Gudianus* 268, of the eleventh century, in Wolfenbüttel. This is the *Gudianus II* of F. A. Wolf, who made no use of it. It was first carefully inspected by August Becker, and was found to be so closely related to M as even to have copyists' errors in common with M, from which other manuscripts are free. The results of Becker's studies are to be found in his *Quaestiones Criticae,* published in 1862. The manuscript was, apparently, derived from an original closely resembling that of M, if not actually from the same one.

g. — *Codex Monacensis* 5977, of the fifteenth century, now in the Royal Library, Munich. It lacks part of the last chapter of *Domitianus,* and gives other evidence of having been copied from a codex that was mutilated towards the end. Ihm thought it was copied from G in 1456, while C. L. Smith was inclined to think it was a copy of the immediate archetype of G, which had become mutilated, in the meantime, towards the end.[1]

V. — *Codex Vaticanus* 1904, of the eleventh or twelfth century, in the Library of the Vatican; the *Vaticanus* of Lipsius and Torrentius. It has survived in a somewhat mutilated condition, ending with *decreta sua re* in *Caligula* 3. 3. It is marred by many careless errors of the copyist, as well as by lacunæ, so that it is, in general, far surpassed by M, although

[1] See Ihm, *Praef.*, XIII; *Harv. Stud. in Cl. Phil.*, XII (1901), 22, 42.

of assistance in individual instances. Ihm pronounced it more reliable than G and most trustworthy after M, with which it is very often in agreement.[1]

L.—*Codex Laurentianus* LXVIII. 7, of the eleventh or twelfth century, in the Mediceo-Laurentian Library in Florence; cited by the older editors as *Mediceus III.* It often has the same correct readings and the same errors as M; but much more frequently it departs from M and inclines to agree with *Mediceus I.* Its close relationship with V has also been demonstrated. Suetonius begins fol. 73, following Caesar's Commentaries.

B. Editions

The editions of the *Lives of the Caesars* have been very numerous since the fifteenth century. More than two hundred were published between the years 1470 and 1829.[2]

The *Editiones Principes* were published, two at Rome in 1470, one at Venice in 1471.

Among the earlier editions may be mentioned those of Filippo Beroaldo, Bologna, 1493; Desiderius Erasmus, Basel, 1518; Robert Estienne, Paris, 1543; Isaac Casaubon, Geneva, 1595, and Paris, 1610; Johann Georg Greffe (Graeve), Utrecht, 1672, 1691, 1703; Samuel Pitiscus, Utrecht, 1690; Johann Friedrich Gronov, Leyden, 1698; Pieter Burman, Amsterdam, 1736; Johann August Ernesti, Leipzig, 1748, 1775; Franz van Oudendorp, Leyden, 1751.

Of the more important later editions the following may be mentioned: Friedrich August Wolf, Leipzig, 1802; D. C. G. Baumgarten-Crusius, Leipzig, 1816–1818, containing valuable indices; Karl Benedict Hase, Paris, 1828; Karl Ludwig Roth, Leipzig, 1858; M. L. Preud'homme, Groningen,

[1] See August Becker in *Symbola Phil. Bonn.*, 687 ff.

[2] See *Jahrb. f. Phil.*, suppl. III (1834), 142 ff. Cf. also K. B. Hase, I, *Praefatio*, XXII ff.; K. L. Roth, *Praefatio*, XIX; M. Ihm, *editio maior*, *Praefatio*, LXI ff.; A. Macé, *Essai sur Suétone*, 25 ff.

1906; Maximilian Ihm, *editio maior*, Leipzig, 1907, *ed. minor*, 1908; John Carew Rolfe, New York, 1914, with translation.

The following editions of selected *Lives* are noteworthy: Harry Thurston Peck, *Gai Suetoni Tranquilli de Vita Caesarum libri duo*[2], New York, 1893; Evelyn S. Shuckburgh, *C. Suetoni Tranquilli Divus Augustus*, Cambridge, 1896; H. Smilda, *C. Suetonii Tranquilli Vita Divi Claudi*, Groningen, 1896; Cornelius Hofstee, *C. Suetonii Tranquilli Vitae Galbae, Othonis, Vitellii*, Groningen, 1898; Joseph B. Pike, *Gai Suetoni Tranquilli de Vita Caesarum libri* III–VI, Boston, 1903.

C. SUETONI TRANQUILLI

DE VITA CAESARUM

LIBER I.

DIVUS IULIUS

* * * * *

1 Annum agens sextum decimum patrem amisit; se-
quentibusque consulibus flamen Dialis destinatus dimissa
Cossutia, quae familia equestri sed admodum dives prae-
textato desponsata fuerat, Corneliam Cinnae quater con-
sulis filiam duxit uxorem, ex qua illi mox Iulia nata est;
neque ut repudiaret compelli a dictatore Sulla ullo modo
2 potuit. Quare et sacerdotio et uxoris dote et gentilicis
hereditatibus multatus diversarum partium habebatur,
ut etiam discedere e medio et quamquam morbo quar-
tanae adgravante prope per singulas noctes commutare
latebras cogeretur seque ab inquisitoribus pecunia redi-
meret, donec per virgines Vestales perque Mamercum
Aemilium et Aurelium Cottam propinquos et adfines
3 suos veniam impetravit. Satis constat Sullam, cum de-
precantibus amicissimis et ornatissimis viris aliquamdiu
denegasset atque illi pertinaciter contenderent, expug-
natum tandem proclamasse sive divinitus sive aliqua
coniectura: vincerent ac sibi haberent, dum
modo scirent eum quem incolumem tanto
opere cuperent quandoque optimatium parti-

bus, quas secum simul defendissent, exitio
futurum; nam Caesari multos Marios inesse.

Stipendia prima in Asia fecit Marci Thermi praetoris 2
contubernio; a quo ad accersendam classem in Bithy-
niam missus desedit apud Nicomeden, non sine rumore
prostratae regi pudicitiae; quem rumorem auxit intra
paucos rursus dies repetita Bithynia per causam exi-
gendae pecuniae quae deberetur cuidam libertino clienti
suo. Reliqua militia secundiore fama fuit et a Thermo
in expugnatione Mytilenarum corona civica donatus est.

Meruit et sub Servilio Isaurico in Cilicia, sed brevi tem- 3
pore. Nam Sullae morte comperta, simul spe novae dis-
sensionis, quae per Marcum Lepidum movebatur, Romam
propere redit. Et Lepidi quidem societate, quamquam
magnis condicionibus invitaretur, abstinuit, cum ingenio
eius diffisus tum occasione, quam minorem opinione
offenderat.

Ceterum composita seditione civili Cornelium Dola- 4
bellam consularem et triumphalem repetundarum pos-
tulavit; absolutoque Rhodum secedere statuit, et ad
declinandam invidiam et ut per otium ac requiem Apol-
lonio Moloni clarissimo tunc dicendi magistro operam
daret. Huc dum hibernis iam mensibus traicit, circa
Pharmacussam insulam a praedonibus captus est mansit-
que apud eos non sine summa indignatione prope quad-
raginta dies cum uno medico et cubicularis duobus.
Nam comites servosque ceteros initio statim ad expedien- 2
das pecunias quibus redimeretur dimiserat. Numeratis
deinde quinquaginta talentis expositus in litore non dis-
tulit quin e vestigio classe deducta persequeretur abeun-
tis ac redactos in potestatem supplicio quod saepe illis
minatus inter iocum fuerat adficeret. Vastante regiones

proximas Mithridate, ne desidere in discrimine sociorum videretur, ab Rhodo, quo pertenderat, transiit in Asiam auxiliisque contractis et praefecto regis provincia expulso nutantis ac dubias civitates retinuit in fide.

5 Tribunatu militum, qui primus Romam reverso per suffragia populi honor optigit, actores restituendae tribuniciae potestatis, cuius vim Sulla deminuerat, enixissime iuvit. L. etiam Cinnae uxoris fratri, et qui cum eo civili discordia Lepidum secuti post necem consulis ad Sertorium confugerant, reditum in civitatem rogatione Plotia confecit habuitque et ipse super ea re contionem.

6 Quaestor Iuliam amitam uxoremque Corneliam defunctas laudavit e more pro rostris. Et in amitae quidem laudatione de eius ac patris sui utraque origine sic refert:

Amitae meae Iuliae maternum genus ab regibus ortum, paternum cum diis inmortalibus coniunctum est. Nam ab Anco Marcio sunt Marcii Reges, quo nomine fuit mater; a Venere Iulii, cuius gentis familia est nostra. Est ergo in genere et sanctitas regum, qui plurimum inter homines pollent, et caerimonia deorum, quorum ipsi in potestate sunt reges.

2 In Corneliae autem locum Pompeiam duxit Quinti Pompei filiam, L. Sullae neptem; cum qua deinde divortium fecit adulteratam opinatus a Publio Clodio, quem inter publicas caerimonias penetrasse ad eam muliebri veste tam constans fama erat ut senatus quaestionem de pollutis sacris decreverit.

7 Quaestori ulterior Hispania obvenit; ubi cum mandatu praetoris iure dicundo conventus circumiret Gadisque venisset, animadversa apud Herculis templum

Magni Alexandri imagine ingemuit et quasi pertaesus
ignaviam suam, quod nihil dum a se memorabile actum
esset in aetate qua iam Alexander orbem terrarum
subegisset, missionem continuo efflagitavit ad captan-
das quam primum maiorum rerum occasiones in urbe.
Etiam confusum eum somnio proximae noctis — nam 2
visus erat per quietem stuprum matri intulisse — coiec-
tores ad amplissimam spem incitaverunt arbitrium ter-
rarum orbis portendi interpretantes, quando mater, quam
subiectam sibi vidisset, non alia esset quam terra, quae
omnium parens haberetur. Decedens ergo ante tempus 8
colonias Latinas de petenda civitate agitantes adiit et ad
audendum aliquid concitasset, nisi consules conscriptas
in Ciliciam legiones paulisper ob id ipsum retinuissent.

Nec eo setius maiora mox in urbe molitus est: siqui- 9
dem ante paucos dies quam aedilitatem iniret, venit in
suspicionem conspirasse cum Marco Crasso consulari,
item Publio Sulla et L. Autronio post designationem con-
sulatus ambitus condemnatis, ut principio anni senatum
adorirentur et trucidatis quos placitum esset dictaturam
Crassus invaderet, ipse ab eo magister equitum diceretur
constitutaque ad arbitrium re publica Sullae et Autronio
consulatus restitueretur. Meminerunt huius coniura- 2
tionis Tanusius Geminus in historia, Marcus Bibulus
in edictis, C. Curio pater in orationibus. De hac sig-
nificare videtur et Cicero in quadam ad Axium epistula
referens Caesarem in consulatu confirmasse regnum de
quo aedilis cogitarat. Tanusius adicit Crassum paeni-
tentia vel metu diem caedi destinatum non obisse et
idcirco ne Caesarem quidem signum quod ab eo dari
convenerat dedisse; convenisse autem Curio ait ut togam
de umero deiceret. Idem Curio sed et M. Actorius Naso 3

auctores sunt conspirasse eum etiam cum Gnaeo Pisone adulescente, cui ob suspicionem urbanae coniurationis provincia Hispania ultro extra ordinem data sit; pactumque ut simul foris ille, ipse Romae ad res novas consurgerent, per †Ambranos et Transpadanos; destitutum utriusque consilium morte Pisonis.

10 Aedilis praeter comitium ac forum basilicasque etiam Capitolium ornavit, porticibus ad tempus extructis in quibus abundante rerum copia pars apparatus exponeretur. Venationes autem ludosque et cum collega et separatim edidit, quo factum est ut communium quoque inpensarum solus gratiam caperet nec dissimularet collega eius Marcus Bibulus evenisse sibi quod Polluci: ut enim geminis fratribus aedes in foro constituta tantum Castoris vocaretur, ita suam Caesarisque munificentiam unius Caesaris
2 dici. Adiecit insuper Caesar etiam gladiatorium munus, sed aliquanto paucioribus quam destinaverat paribus; nam cum multiplici undique familia conparata inimicos exterruisset, cautum est de numero gladiatorum quo ne maiorem cuiquam habere Romae liceret.

11 Conciliato populi favore temptavit per partem tribunorum ut sibi Aegyptus provincia plebi scito daretur, nanctus extraordinarii imperii occasionem quod Alexandrini regem suum socium atque amicum a senatu appellatum expulerant resque vulgo inprobabatur. Nec obtinuit adversante optimatium factione: quorum auctoritatem ut quibus posset modis in vicem deminueret, tropaea Gai Mari de Iugurtha deque Cimbris atque Teutonis olim a Sulla disiecta restituit atque in exercenda de sicaris quaestione eos quoque sicariorum numero habuit qui proscriptione ob relata civium Romanorum ca-

pita pecunias ex aerario acceperant, quamquam exceptos Cornelis legibus.

Subornavit etiam qui Gaio Rabirio perduellionis diem 12
diceret, quo praecipuo adiutore aliquot ante annos Luci Saturnini seditiosum tribunatum senatus coercuerat, ac sorte iudex in reum ductus tam cupide condemnavit ut ad populum provocanti nihil aeque ac iudicis acerbitas profuerit.

Deposita provinciae spe pontificatum maximum petit 13
non sine profusissima largitione; in qua reputans magnitudinem aeris alieni, cum mane ad comitia descenderet, praedixisse matri osculanti fertur *domum se nisi pontificem non reversurum.* Atque ita potentissimos duos competitores multumque et aetate et dignitate antecedentes superavit ut plura ipse in eorum tribubus suffragia quam uterque in omnibus tulerit.

Praetor creatus, detecta coniuratione Catilinae sena- 14
tuque universo in socios facinoris ultimam statuente poenam, solus municipatim dividendos custodiendosque publicatis bonis censuit. Quin et tantum metum iniecit asperiora suadentibus, identidem ostentans quanta eos in posterum a plebe Romana maneret invidia, ut Decimum Silanum consulem designatum non piguerit sententiam suam, quia mutare turpe erat, interpretatione lenire velut gravius atque ipse sensisset exceptam. Obtinuis- 2
set adeo, transductis iam ad se pluribus et in his Cicerone consulis fratre, nisi labantem ordinem confirmasset M. Catonis oratio. Ac ne sic quidem impedire rem destitit quoad manus equitum Romanorum quae armata praesidii causa circumstabat inmoderatius perseveranti necem comminata est, etiam strictos gladios usque eo intentans ut sedentem una proximi deseruerint, vix pauci complexu

togaque obiecta protexerint. Tunc plane deterritus non modo cessit, sed et in reliquum anni tempus curia abstinuit.

15 Primo praeturae die Quintum Catulum de refectione Capitoli ad disquisitionem populi vocavit, rogatione promulgata qua curationem eam in alium transferebat; verum impar optimatium conspirationi, quos relicto statim novorum consulum officio frequentes obstinatosque ad resistendum concucurrisse cernebat, hanc quidem actionem deposuit.

16 Ceterum Caecilio Metello tribuno plebis turbulentissimas leges adversus collegarum intercessionem ferenti auctorem propugnatoremque se pertinacissime praestitit, donec ambo administratione rei publicae decreto patrum submoverentur. Ac nihilo minus permanere in magistratu et ius dicere ausus, ut comperit paratos qui vi ac per arma prohiberent, dimissis lictoribus abiectaque praetexta domum clam refugit pro condicione temporum
2 quieturus. Multitudinem quoque biduo post sponte et ultro confluentem operamque sibi in adserenda dignitate tumultuosius pollicentem conpescuit. Quod cum praeter opinionem evenisset, senatus ob eundem coetum festinato coactus gratias ei per primores viros egit accitumque in curiam et amplissimis verbis conlaudatum in integrum restituit inducto priore decreto.

17 Recidit rursus in discrimen aliud inter socios Catilinae nominatus et apud Novium Nigrum quaestorem a Lucio Vettio indice et in senatu a Quinto Curio, cui, quod primus consilia coniuratorum detexerat, constituta erant publice praemia. Curius e Catilina se cognovisse dicebat, Vettius etiam chirographum eius Catilinae da-
2 tum pollicebatur. Id vero Caesar nullo modo toleran-

dum existimans, cum inplorato Ciceronis testimonio
quaedam se de coniuratione ultro ad eum detulisse
docuisset, ne Curio praemia darentur effecit; Vettium,
pignoribus captis et direpta supellectile, male mulcatum
ac pro rostris in contione paene discerptum coiecit in
carcerem; eodem Novium quaestorem, quod compellari
apud se maiorem potestatem passus esset.

Ex praetura ulteriorem sortitus Hispaniam retinentes 18
creditores interventu sponsorum removit ac neque more
neque iure ante quam provinciae ornarentur profectus
est: incertum metune iudicii, quod privato parabatur, an
quo maturius sociis inplorantibus subveniret; pacataque
provincia, pari festinatione, non expectato successore ad
triumphum simul consulatumque decessit. Sed cum 2
edictis iam comitiis ratio eius haberi non posset nisi
privatus introisset urbem, et ambienti ut legibus sol-
veretur multi contra dicerent, coactus est triumphum,
ne consulatu excluderetur, dimittere.

E duobus consulatus competitoribus, Lucio Lucceio 19
Marcoque Bibulo, Lucceium sibi adiunxit, pactus ut is,
quoniam inferior gratia esset pecuniaque polleret, num-
mos de suo communi nomine per centurias pronuntiaret.
Qua cognita re optimates, quos metus ceperat nihil non
ausurum eum in summo magistratu concordi et consen-
tiente collega, auctores Bibulo fuerunt tantundem polli-
cendi, ac plerique pecunias contulerunt, ne Catone quidem
abnuente eam largitionem e re publica fieri.

Igitur cum Bibulo consul creatur. Eandem ob causam 2
opera ab optimatibus data est ut provinciae futuris con-
sulibus minimi negotii, id est silvae callesque, decer-
nerentur. Qua maxime iniuria instinctus omnibus officiis
Gnaeum Pompeium adsectatus est offensum patribus

quod Mithridate rege victo cunctantius confirmarentur acta sua; Pompeioque Marcum Crassum reconciliavit, veterem inimicum ex consulatu, quem summa discordia simul gesserant; ac societatem cum utroque iniit ne quid ageretur in re publica quod displicuisset ulli e tribus.

20 Inito honore primus omnium instituit ut tam senatus quam populi diurna acta confierent et publicarentur. Antiquum etiam rettulit morem ut, quo mense fasces non haberet, accensus ante eum iret, lictores pone sequerentur. Lege autem agraria promulgata obnuntiantem collegam armis foro expulit ac postero die in senatu conquestum nec quoquam reperto qui super tali consternatione referre aut censere aliquid auderet, qualia multa saepe in levioribus turbis decreta erant, in eam coegit desperationem ut quoad potestate abiret domo abditus nihil aliud quam per edicta obnuntiaret.

2 Unus ex eo tempore omnia in re publica et ad arbitrium administravit, ut nonnulli urbanorum, cum quid per iocum testandi gratia signarent, non Caesare et Bibulo, sed Iulio et Caesare consulibus actum scriberent, bis eundem praeponentes nomine atque cognomine, utque vulgo mox ferrentur hi versus:

Non Bibulo quiddam nuper sed Caesare factum est:
nam Bibulo fieri consule nil memini.

3 Campum Stellatem maioribus consecratum agrumque Campanum ad subsidia rei publicae vectigalem relictum divisit extra sortem ad viginti milibus civium quibus terni pluresve liberi essent. Publicanos remissionem petentis tertia mercedum parte relevavit ac ne in loca-

tione novorum vectigalium inmoderatius licerentur pro-
palam monuit. Cetera item quae cuique libuissent
dilargitus est contra dicente nullo ac, si conaretur quis,
absterrito. Marcum Catonem interpellantem extrahi cu- 4
ria per lictorem ducique in carcerem iussit. Lucio
Lucullo liberius resistenti tantum calumniarum metum
iniecit ut ad genua ultro sibi accideret. Cicerone in
iudicio quodam deplorante temporum statum, Publium
Clodium inimicum eius, frustra iam pridem a patribus
ad plebem transire nitentem, eodem die horaque nona
transduxit. Postremo in universos diversae factionis 5
indicem . . . inductum praemiis ut se de inferenda
Pompeio nece sollicitatum a quibusdam profiteretur pro-
ductusque pro rostris auctores ex conpacto nominaret;
sed uno atque altero frustra nec sine suspicione fraudis
nominatis, desperans tam praecipitis consilii eventum in-
tercepisse veneno indicem creditur.

Sub idem tempus Calpurniam L. Pisonis filiam suc- 21
cessuri sibi in consulatu duxit uxorem suamque, Iuliam,
Gnaeo Pompeio conlocavit, repudiato priore sponso Ser-
vilio Caepione, cuius vel praecipua opera paulo ante
Bibulum inpugnaverat. Ac post novam adfinitatem
Pompeium primum rogare sententiam coepit, cum Cras-
sum soleret essetque consuetudo ut quem ordinem in-
terrogandi sententias consul Kal. Ianuariis instituisset,
eum toto anno conservaret.

Socero igitur generoque suffragantibus ex omni pro- 22
vinciarum copia Gallias potissimum elegit, † cuius emolu-
mento et opportunitate idonea sit materia triumphorum.
Et initio quidem Galliam Cisalpinam Illyrico adiecto
lege Vatinia accepit; mox per senatum Comatam quoque,
veritis patribus ne, si ipsi negassent, populus et hanc

2 daret. Quo gaudio elatus non temperavit quin paucos post dies frequenti curia iactaret invitis et gementibus adversaris adeptum se quae concupisset, proinde ex eo insultaturum omnium capitibus; ac negante quodam per contumeliam facile hoc ulli feminae fore, responderit quasi adludens: in Suria quoque regnasse Sameramin magnamque Asiae partem Amazonas tenuisse quondam.

23 Functus consulatu, Gaio Memmio Lucioque Domitio praetoribus de superioris anni actis referentibus, cognitionem senatui detulit; nec illo suscipiente triduoque per inritas altercationes absumpto in provinciam abiit. Et statim quaestor eius in praeiudicium aliquot criminibus arreptus est. Mox et ipse a Lucio Antistio tr. pl. postulatus appellato demum collegio optinuit cum rei
2 publicae causa abesset reus ne fieret. Ad securitatem ergo posteri temporis in magno negotio habuit obligare semper annuos magistratus et e petitoribus non alios adiuvare aut ad honorem pati pervenire quam qui sibi recepissent propugnaturos absentiam suam; cuius pacti non dubitavit a quibusdam ius iurandum atque etiam syngrapham exigere.

24 Sed cum Lucius Domitius consulatus candidatus palam minaretur consulem se effecturum quod praetor nequisset adempturumque ei exercitus, Crassum Pompeiumque in urbem provinciae suae Lucam extractos conpulit ut detrudendi Domitii causa consulatum alterum peterent, perfecitque †utrumque ut in quinquennium sibi impe-
2 rium prorogaretur. Qua fiducia ad legiones quas a re publica acceperat alias privato sumptu addidit, unam etiam ex Transalpinis conscriptam, vocabulo quoque Gallico, — Alauda enim appellabatur — quam disciplina

cultuque Romano institutam et ornatam postea uni-
versam civitate donavit. Nec deinde ulla belli occasione, 3
ne iniusti quidem ac periculosi, abstinuit, tam foederatis
quam infestis ac feris gentibus ultro lacessitis, adeo ut
senatus quondam legatos ad explorandum statum Gal-
liarum mittendos decreverit ac nonnulli dedendum eum
hostibus censuerint. Sed prospere cedentibus rebus et
saepius et plurium quam quisquam umquam dierum
supplicationes impetravit.

Gessit autem novem annis quibus in imperio fuit 25
haec fere.

Omnem Galliam quae saltu Pyrenaeo Alpibusque
et monte Cebenna, fluminibus Rheno ac Rhodano con-
tinetur patetque circuitu ad bis et tricies centum milia
passuum, praeter socias ac bene meritas civitates, in
provinciae formam redegit eique cccc in singulos annos
stipendii nomine inposuit. Germanos qui trans Rhenum 2
incolunt primus Romanorum ponte fabricato adgressus
maximis adfecit cladibus; adgressus est et Britannos
ignotos antea superatisque pecunias et obsides imperavit;
per tot successus ter nec amplius adversum casum ex-
pertus: in Britannia classe vi tempestatis prope ab-
sumpta et in Gallia ad Gergoviam legione fusa et in
Germanorum finibus Titurio et Aurunculeio legatis per
insidias caesis.

Eodem temporis spatio matrem primo, deinde filiam, 26
nec multo post nepotem amisit. Inter quae, consternata
Publi Clodi caede re publica, cum senatus unum con-
sulem nominatimque Gnaeum Pompeium fieri censuisset,
egit cum tribunis plebis, collegam se Pompeio desti-
nantibus, id potius ad populum ferrent ut absenti sibi,
quandoque imperii tempus expleri coepisset, petitio se-

cundi consulatus daretur ne ea causa maturius et in-
2 perfecto adhuc bello decederet. Quod ut adeptus est,
altiora iam meditans et spei plenus nullum largitionis
aut officiorum in quemquam genus publice privatimque
omisit. Forum de manubiis incohavit, cuius area super
sestertium milies constitit. Munus populo epulumque
pronuntiavit in filiae memoriam, quod ante eum nemo.
Quorum ut quam maxima expectatio esset, ea quae ad
epulum pertinerent, quamvis macellaris ablocata, etiam
3 domesticatim apparabat. Gladiatores notos, sicubi in-
festis spectatoribus dimicarent, vi rapiendos reservan-
dosque mandabat. Tirones neque in ludo neque per
lanistas, sed in domibus per equites Romanos atque
etiam per senatores armorum peritos erudiebat, precibus
enitens, quod epistulis eius ostenditur, ut disciplinam
singulorum susciperent ipsique dictata exercentibus
darent. Legionibus stipendium in perpetuum duplicavit.
Frumentum, quotiens copia esset, etiam sine modo men-
suraque praebuit ac singula interdum mancipia e praeda
viritim dedit.

27 Ad retinendam autem Pompei necessitudinem ac vo-
luntatem Octaviam sororis suae neptem, quae Gaio Mar-
cello nupta erat, condicionem ei detulit sibique filiam
eius in matrimonium petit Fausto Sullae destinatam.
Omnibus vero circa eum atque etiam parte magna senatus
gratuito aut levi faenore obstrictis, ex reliquo quoque
ordinum genere vel invitatos vel sponte ad se commeantis
uberrimo congiario prosequebatur, libertos insuper ser-
vulosque cuiusque prout domino patronove gratus qui
2 esset. Tum reorum aut obaeratorum aut prodigae iuven-
tutis subsidium unicum ac promptissimum erat, nisi quos
gravior criminum vel inopiae luxuriaeve vis urgeret

quam ut subveniri posset a se; his plane palam bello
civili opus esse dicebat.

Nec minore studio reges atque provincias per terrarum 28
orbem adliciebat, aliis captivorum milia dono offerens,
aliis citra senatus populique auctoritatem quo vellent et
quotiens vellent auxilia submittens, superque Italiae
Galliarumque et Hispaniarum, Asiae quoque et Graeciae
potentissimas urbes praecipuis operibus exornans; donec, 2
attonitis iam omnibus et quorsum illa tenderent re-
putantibus, Marcus Claudius Marcellus consul, edicto
praefatus de summa se re publica acturum, rettulit
ad senatum ut ei succederetur ante tempus, quoniam
bello confecto pax esset ac dimitti deberet victor exer-
citus; et ne absentis ratio comitiis haberetur, quando
nec plebi scito Pompeius postea abrogasset. Acciderat 3
autem ut is legem de iure magistratuum ferens eo ca-
pite quo petitione honorum absentis submovebat ne
Caesarem quidem exciperet per oblivionem, ac mox
lege iam in aes incisa et in aerarium condita corrigeret
errorem. Nec contentus Marcellus provincias Caesari
et privilegium eripere, rettulit etiam ut colonis quos
rogatione Vatinia Novum Comum deduxisset civitas
adimeretur quod per ambitionem et ultra praescriptum
data esset.

Commotus his Caesar ac iudicans, quod saepe ex eo 29
auditum ferunt, difficilius se principem civi-
tatis a primo ordine in secundum quam ex
secundo in novissimum detrudi, summa ope
restitit, partim per intercessores tribunos, partim per
Servium Sulpicium alterum consulem. Insequenti quo-
que anno Gaio Marcello, qui fratri patrueli suo Marco in
consulatu successerat, eadem temptante collegam eius

Aemilium Paulum Gaiumque Curionem violentissimum
2 tribunorum ingenti mercede defensores paravit. Sed
cum obstinatius omnia agi videret et designatos etiam
consules e parte diversa, senatum litteris deprecatus est
ne sibi beneficium populi adimeretur aut ut ceteri
quoque imperatores ab exercitibus discederent; con-
fisus, ut putant, facilius se, simul atque libuisset, ve-
teranos convocaturum quam Pompeium novos milites.
Cum adversariis autem pepigit ut dimissis octo legio-
nibus Transalpinaque Gallia duae sibi legiones et Cis-
alpina provincia vel etiam una legio cum Illyrico con-
cederetur quoad consul fieret.

30 Verum neque senatu interveniente et adversariis ne-
gantibus ullam se de re publica facturos pactionem, transiit
in citeriorem Galliam conventibusque peractis Ravennae
substitit, bello vindicaturus si quid de tribunis plebis
intercedentibus pro se gravius a senatu constitutum esset.
2 Et praetextum quidem illi civilium armorum hoc fuit;
causas autem alias fuisse opinantur. Gnaeus Pompeius
ita dictitabat, quod neque opera consummare quae in-
stituerat neque populi expectationem quam de adventu
suo fecerat privatis opibus explere posset, turbare omnia
3 ac permiscere voluisse. Alii timuisse dicunt ne eorum
quae primo consulatu adversus auspicia legesque et
intercessiones gessisset rationem reddere cogeretur; cum
M. Cato identidem nec sine iure iurando denuntiaret de-
laturum se nomen eius simul ac primum exercitum di-
misisset; cumque vulgo fore praedicarent ut, si privatus
redisset, Milonis exemplo circumpositis armatis causam
4 apud iudices diceret. Quod probabilius facit Asinius
Pollio, Pharsalica acie caesos profligatosque adversarios
prospicientem haec eum ad verbum dixisse referens: H o c

voluerunt; tantis rebus gestis Gaius Caesar condemnatus essem, nisi ab exercitu auxilium petissem. Quidam putant captum imperii 5
consuetudine pensitatisque suis et inimicorum viribus usum occasione rapiendae dominationis quam aetate prima concupisset. Quod existimasse videbatur et Cicero, scribens de Officiis tertio libro semper Caesarem in ore habuisse Euripidis versus, quos sic ipse convertit:

Nam si violandum est ius, regnandi gratia
violandum est: aliis rebus pietatem colas.

Cum ergo sublatam tribunorum intercessionem ipsosque 31
urbe cessisse nuntiatum esset, praemissis confestim clam cohortibus, ne qua suspicio moveretur, et spectaculo publico per dissimulationem interfuit et formam qua ludum gladiatorium erat aedificaturus consideravit et ex consuetudine convivio se frequenti dedit. Dein post solis 2
occasum mulis e proximo pistrino ad vehiculum iunctis occultissimum iter modico comitatu ingressus est; et cum luminibus extinctis decessisset via, diu errabundus tandem ad lucem duce reperto per angustissimos tramites pedibus evasit. Consecutusque cohortis ad Rubiconem flumen, qui provinciae eius finis erat, paulum constitit, ac reputans quantum moliretur, conversus ad proximos, *Etiam nunc*, inquit, *regredi possumus; quod si ponticulum transierimus, omnia armis agenda erunt.*

Cunctanti ostentum tale factum est. Quidam eximia 32
magnitudine et forma in proximo sedens repente apparuit harundine canens; ad quem audiendum cum praeter pastores plurimi etiam ex stationibus milites concurrissent interque eos et aeneatores, rapta ab uno tuba prosilivit ad

flumen et ingenti spiritu classicum exorsus pertendit ad alteram ripam. Tunc Caesar, *Eatur*, inquit, *quo deorum ostenta et inimicorum iniquitas vocat. Iacta alea est*, inquit.

33 Atque ita traiecto exercitu, adhibitis tribunis plebis, qui pulsi supervenerant, pro contione fidem militum flens ac veste a pectore discissa invocavit. Existimatur etiam equestres census pollicitus singulis; quod accidit opinione falsa. Nam cum in adloquendo adhortandoque saepius digitum laevae manus ostentans adfirmaret se ad satis faciendum omnibus per quos dignitatem suam defensurus esset anulum quoque aequo animo detracturum sibi, extrema contio, cui facilius erat videre contionantem quam audire, pro dicto accepit quod visu suspicabatur; promissumque ius anulorum cum milibus quadringenis fama distulit.

34 Ordo et summa rerum quas deinceps gessit sic se habent. Picenum, Umbriam, Etruriam occupavit et Lucio Domitio, qui per tumultum successor ei nominatus Corfinium praesidio tenebat, in dicionem redacto atque dimisso secundum Superum mare Brundisium tetendit, quo consules Pompeiusque confugerant quam
2 primum transfretaturi. Hos frustra per omnis moras exitu prohibere conatus Romam iter convertit appellatisque de re publica patribus validissimas Pompei copias, quae sub tribus legatis M. Petreio et L. Afranio et M. Varrone in Hispania erant, invasit, professus ante inter suos *ire se ad exercitum sine duce et inde reversurum ad ducem sine exercitu*. Et quanquam obsidione Massiliae, quae sibi in itinere portas clauserat, summaque frumentariae rei penuria retardante brevi tamen omnia subegit.

35 Hinc urbe repetita in Macedoniam transgressus Pompeium, per quattuor paene menses maximis obsessum operibus, ad extremum Pharsalico proelio fudit et fugientem Alexandriam persecutus, ut occisum deprehendit, cum Ptolemaeo rege, a quo sibi quoque insidias tendi videbat, bellum sane difficillimum gessit neque loco neque tempore aequo, sed hieme anni et intra moenia copiosissimi ac sollertissimi hostis, inops ipse omnium rerum atque inparatus. Regnum Aegypti victor Cleopatrae fratrique eius minori permisit, veritus provinciam facere ne quandoque violentiorem praesidem nacta novarum rerum materia esset. 2 Ab Alexandria in Syriam et inde Pontum transiit urgentibus de Pharnace nuntiis, quem Mithridatis Magni filium ac tunc occasione temporum bellantem iamque multiplici successu praeferocem intra quintum quam adfuerat diem, quattuor quibus in conspectum venit horis una profligavit acie; crebro commemorans Pompei felicitatem, cui praecipua militiae laus de tam inbelli genere hostium contigisset. Dehinc Scipionem ac Iubam reliquias partium in Africa refoventis devicit, Pompei liberos in Hispania.

36 Omnibus civilibus bellis nullam cladem nisi per legatos suos passus est, quorum C. Curio in Africa periit, C. Antonius in Illyrico in adversariorum devenit potestatem, P. Dolabella classem in eodem Illyrico, Cn. Domitius Calvinus in Ponto exercitum amiserunt. Ipse prosperrime semper ac ne ancipiti quidem umquam fortuna praeterquam bis dimicavit: semel ad Dyrrachium, ubi pulsus non instante Pompeio negavit eum vincere scire, iterum in Hispania ultimo proelio, cum desperatis rebus etiam de consciscenda nece cogitavit.

37 Confectis bellis quinquiens triumphavit, post devictum Scipionem quater eodem mense sed interiectis diebus, et rursus semel post superatos Pompei liberos. Primum et excellentissimum triumphum egit Gallicum, sequentem Alexandrinum, deinde Ponticum, huic proximum Africanum, novissimum Hispaniensem, diverso 2 quemque apparatu et instrumento. Gallici triumphi die Velabrum praetervehens paene curru excussus est axe diffracto ascenditque Capitolium ad lumina quadraginta elephantis dextra sinistraque lychnuchos gestantibus. Pontico triumpho inter pompae fercula trium verborum praetulit titulum, VENI·VIDI·VICI, non acta belli significantem sicut ceteris, sed celeriter confecti notam.

38 Veteranis legionibus praedae nomine in pedites singulos super bina sestertia, quae initio civilis tumultus numeraverat, vicena quaterna milia nummum dedit. Adsignavit et agros, sed non continuos ne quis possessorum expelleretur. Populo praeter frumenti denos modios ac totidem olei libras trecenos quoque nummos quos pollicitus olim erat viritim divisit et hoc 2 amplius centenos pro mora. Annuam etiam habitationem Romae usque ad bina milia nummum, in Italia non ultra quingenos sestertios remisit. Adiecit epulum ac viscerationem et post Hispaniensem victoriam duo prandia; nam cum prius parce neque pro liberalitate sua praebitum iudicaret, quinto post die aliud largissimum praebuit.

39 Edidit spectacula varii generis: munus gladiatorium, ludos etiam regionatim urbe tota et quidem per omnium linguarum histriones; item circenses, athletas, naumachiam. Munere in foro depugnavit Furius Leptinus

stirpe praetoria et Q. Calpenus senator quondam actorque
causarum. Pyrricham saltaverunt Asiae Bithyniaeque
principum liberi. Ludis Decimus Laberius eques Ro- 2
manus mimum suum egit donatusque quingentis sestertiis
et anulo aureo sessum in quattuordecim e scaena per
orchestram transiit. Circensibus spatio circi ab utraque
parte producto et in gyrum euripo addito quadrigas
bigasque et equos desultorios agitaverunt nobilissimi
iuvenes. Troiam lusit turma duplex maiorum mino-
rumque puerorum. Venationes editae per dies quinque 3
ac novissime pugna divisa in duas acies, quingenis pediti-
bus, elephantis vicenis, tricenis equitibus hinc et inde
commissis. Nam quo laxius dimicaretur, sublatae metae
inque earum locum bina castra exadversum constituta
erant. Athletae stadio ad tempus extructo regione Marti
campi certaverunt per triduum. Navali proelio in minore 4
Codeta defosso lacu biremes ac triremes quadriremesque
Tyriae et Aegyptiae classis magno pugnatorum numero
conflixerunt. Ad quae omnia spectacula tantum undique
confluxit hominum ut plerique advenae aut inter vicos aut
inter vias tabernaculis positis manerent ac saepe prae turba
elisi exanimatique sint plurimi et in his duo senatores.

Conversus hinc ad ordinandum rei publicae statum, 40
fastos correxit iam pridem vitio pontificum per inter-
calandi licentiam adeo turbatos ut neque messium
feriae aestate neque vindemiarum autumno conpete-
rent; annumque ad cursum solis accommodavit, ut tre-
centorum sexaginta quinque dierum esset et intercalario
mense sublato unus dies quarto quoque anno inter-
calaretur. Quo autem magis in posterum ex Kalendis 2
Ianuariis novis temporum ratio congrueret, inter No-
vembrem ac Decembrem mensem interiecit duos alios;

fuitque is annus quo haec constituebantur quindecim mensium cum intercalario, qui ex consuetudine in eum annum inciderat.

41 Senatum supplevit, patricios adlegit, praetorum,
aedilium, quaestorum, minorum etiam magistratuum nu-
merum ampliavit; nudatos opere censorio aut sententia
2 iudicum de ambitu condemnatos restituit. Comitia cum
populo partitus est, ut exceptis consulatus conpetitoribus
de cetero numero candidatorum pro parte dimidia quos
populus vellet pronuntiarentur, pro parte altera quos ipse
dedisset. Et edebat per libellos circum tribum missos
scriptura brevi: *Caesar dictator illi tribui. Commendo vobis illum et illum, ut vestro suffragio suam dignitatem teneant.* Admisit ad honores et proscriptorum liberos. Iudicia ad duo genera iudicum redegit, equestris ordinis ac senatorii; tribunos aerarios, quod erat tertium, sustulit.

3 Recensum populi nec more nec loco solito, sed vicatim per dominos insularum egit atque ex viginti trecentisque milibus accipientium frumentum e publico ad centum quinquaginta retraxit; ac ne qui novi coetus recensionis causa moveri quandoque possent, instituit quotannis in demortuorum locum ex iis qui recensi non essent subsortitio a praetore fieret.

42 Octoginta autem civium milibus in transmarinas colonias distributis, ut exhaustae quoque urbis frequentia suppeteret, sanxit ne quis civis maior annis viginti minorve † decem, qui sacramento non teneretur, plus triennio continuo Italia abesset neu qui senatoris filius, nisi contubernalis aut comes magistratus, peregre proficisceretur; neve ii qui pecuariam facerent minus tertia parte puberum ingenuorum inter pastores haberent.

Omnisque medicinam Romae professos et liberalium artium doctores, quo libentius et ipsi urbem incolerent et ceteri adpeterent, civitate donavit. De pecuniis mu- 2
tuis disiecta novarum tabularum expectatione, quae crebro movebatur, decrevit tandem ut debitores creditoribus satis facerent per aestimationem possessionum, quanti quasque ante civile bellum comparassent, deducto summae aeris alieni si quid usurae nomine numeratum aut perscriptum fuisset; qua condicione quarta pars fere crediti deperibat. Cuncta collegia praeter antiquitus 3
constituta distraxit. Poenas facinorum auxit; et cum locupletes eo facilius scelere se obligarent quod integris patrimoniis exulabant, parricidas, ut Cicero scribit, bonis omnibus, reliquos dimidia parte multavit.

Ius laboriosissime ac severissime dixit. Repetunda- 43
rum convictos etiam ordine senatorio movit. Diremit nuptias praetorii viri qui digressam a marito post biduum statim duxerat, quamvis sine probri suspicione. Peregrinarum mercium portoria instituit. Lecticarum usum, item conchyliatae vestis et margaritarum nisi certis personis et aetatibus perque certos dies ademit. Legem 2
praecipue sumptuariam exercuit, dispositis circa macellum custodibus qui obsonia contra vetitum retinerent deportarentque ad se, submissis nonnumquam lictoribus atque militibus qui, si qua custodes fefellissent, iam adposita e triclinio auferrent.

Nam de ornanda instruendaque urbe, item de tuendo 44
ampliandoque imperio plura ac maiora in dies destinabat: in primis Martis templum quantum nusquam esset extruere, repleto et conplanato lacu in quo naumachiae spectaculum ediderat, theatrumque summae magnitudinis Tarpeio monti accubans; ius civile ad certum modum 2

redigere atque ex immensa diffusaque legum copia optima quaeque et necessaria in paucissimos conferre libros; bibliothecas Graecas Latinasque quas maximas posset publicare, data Marco Varroni cura comparandarum ac
3 digerendarum; siccare Pomptinas paludes; emittere Fucinum lacum; viam munire a mari Supero per Appennini dorsum ad Tiberim usque; perfodere Isthmum; Dacos, qui se in Pontum et Thraciam effuderant, coercere; mox Parthis inferre bellum per Armeniam minorem nec nisi ante expertos adgredi proelio.

4 Talia agentem atque meditantem mors praevenit. De qua prius quam dicam, ea quae ad formam et habitum et cultum et mores, nec minus quae ad civilia et bellica eius studia pertineant, non alienum erit summatim exponere.

45 Fuisse traditur excelsa statura, colore candido, teretibus membris, ore paulo pleniore, nigris vegetisque oculis, valitudine prospera, nisi quod tempore extremo repente animo linqui atque etiam per somnum exterreri solebat. Comitiali quoque morbo bis inter res agendas correptus
2 est. Circa corporis curam morosior, ut non solum tonderetur diligenter ac raderetur, sed velleretur etiam, ut quidam exprobraverunt, calvitii vero deformitatem iniquissime ferret, saepe obtrectatorum iocis obnoxiam expertus. Ideoque et deficientem capillum revocare a vertice adsueverat et ex omnibus decretis sibi a senatu populoque honoribus non aliud aut recepit aut usurpavit libentius quam ius laureae coronae perpetuo gestandae.

3 Etiam cultu notabilem ferunt: usum enim lato clavo ad manus fimbriato nec umquam aliter quam ut super eum cingeretur, et quidem fluxiore cinctura; unde emanasse Sullae dictum optimates saepius admonentis ut male praecinctum puerum caverent.

Habitavit primo in Subura modicis aedibus, post autem 46
pontificatum maximum in Sacra via domo publica. Mun-
ditiarum lautitiarumque studiosissimum multi prodide-
runt: villam in Nemorensi a fundamentis incohatam
magnoque sumptu absolutam, quia non tota ad animum
ei responderat, totam diruisse, quanquam tenuem adhuc
et obaeratum; in expeditionibus tessellata et sectilia
pavimenta circumtulisse; Britanniam petisse spe marga- 47
ritarum, quarum amplitudinem conferentem interdum
sua manu exegisse pondus; gemmas, toreumata, signa,
tabulas operis antiqui semper animosissime comparasse;
servitia rectiora politioraque inmenso pretio, et cuius
ipsum etiam puderet, sic ut rationibus vetaret inferri;
convivatum assidue per provincias duobus tricliniis, 48
uno quo sagati palliative, altero quo togati cum in-
lustrioribus provinciarum discumberent. Domesticam
disciplinam in parvis ac maioribus rebus diligenter
adeo severeque rexit ut pistorem alium quam sibi
panem convivis subicientem compedibus vinxerit, li-
bertum gratissimum ob adulteratam equitis Romani
uxorem, quamvis nullo querente, capitali poena ad-
fecerit.

Pudicitiae eius famam nihil quidem praeter Nicomedis 49
contubernium laesit, gravi tamen et perenni obprobrio
et ad omnium convicia exposito. Omitto Calvi Licini
notissimos versus:

Bithynia quicquid
et pedicator Caesaris umquam habuit.

Praetereo actiones Dolabellae et Curionis patris, in quibus
eum Dolabella paelicem reginae, spondam in-
teriorem regiae lecticae, at Curio stabulum
Nicomedis et Bithynicum fornicem dicunt.

2 Missa etiam facio edicta Bibuli, quibus proscripsit collegam suum Bithynicam reginam, eique antea regem fuisse cordi, nunc esse regnum. Quo tempore, ut Marcus Brutus refert, Octavius etiam quidam, valitudine mentis liberius dicax, conventu maximo cum Pompeium regem appellasset ipsum reginam salutavit. Sed C. Memmius etiam ad cyathum †et vi Nicomedi stetisse obicit cum reliquis exoletis pleno convivio, accubantibus nonnullis urbicis negotiatoribus, quorum refert

3 nomina. Cicero vero non contentus in quibusdam epistulis scripsisse a satellitibus eum in cubiculum regium eductum in aureo lecto veste purpurea decubuisse floremque aetatis a Venere orti in Bithynia contaminatum, quondam etiam in senatu defendenti ei Nysae causam, filiae Nicomedis, beneficiaque regis in se commemoranti; Remove, inquit, istaec, oro te, quando notum est, et quid ille tibi et quid illi tute dederis.

4 Gallico denique triumpho milites eius inter cetera carmina, qualia currum prosequentes ioculariter canunt, etiam illud vulgatissimum pronuntiaverunt:

Gallias Caesar subegit, Nicomedes Caesarem:
ecce Caesar nunc triumphat qui subegit Gallias,
Nicomedes non triumphat qui subegit Caesarem.

50 Pronum et sumptuosum in libidines fuisse constans opinio est plurimasque et illustres feminas corrupisse, in quibus Postumiam Servi Sulpici, Lolliam Auli Gabini, Tertullam Marci Crassi, etiam Cn. Pompei Muciam. Nam certe Pompeio et a Curionibus patre et filio et a multis exprobratum est quod cuius causa

post tres liberos exegisset uxorem et quem gemens Aegisthum appellare consuesset, eius postea filiam potentiae cupiditate in matrimonium recepisset. Sed ante 2
alias dilexit Marci Bruti matrem Serviliam, cui et proximo suo consulatu sexagiens sestertium margaritam mercatus est et bello civili super alias donationes amplissima praedia ex auctionibus hastae minimo addixit; cum quidem plerisque vilitatem mirantibus facetissime Cicero, *Quo melius*, inquit, *emptum sciatis, tertia deducta*; existimabatur enim Servilia etiam filiam suam Tertiam Caesari conciliare.

Ne provincialibus quidem matrimoniis abstinuisse vel 51
hoc disticho apparet iactato aeque a militibus per Gallicum triumphum:

> Urbani, servate uxores: moechum calvom adducimus.
> Aurum in Gallia effutuisti, hic sumpsisti mutuum.

Dilexit et reginas, inter quas Eunoen Mauram Bogudis 52
uxorem, cui maritoque eius plurima et immensa tribuit, ut Naso scripsit; sed maxime Cleopatram, cum qua et convivia in primam lucem saepe protraxit et eadem nave thalamego paene Aethiopia tenus Aegyptum penetravit, nisi exercitus sequi recusasset, quam denique accitam in urbem non nisi maximis honoribus praemiisque auctam remisit filiumque natum appellare nomine suo passus est. Quem quidem nonnulli Grae- 2
corum similem quoque Caesari et forma et incessu tradiderunt. M. Antonius adgnitum etiam ab eo senatui adfirmavit, quae scire C. Matium et C. Oppium reliquosque Caesaris amicos; quorum Gaius Oppius,

quasi plane defensione ac patrocinio res egeret, librum edidit, non esse Caesaris filium quem Cleopatra dicat.
3 Helvius Cinna tr. pl. plerisque confessus est habuisse se scriptam paratamque legem, quam Caesar ferre iussisset cum ipse abesset, uti uxores liberorum quaerendorum causa quas et quot vellet ducere liceret. At ne cui dubium omnino sit et impudicitiae et adulteriorum flagrasse infamia, Curio pater quadam eum oratione omnium mulierum virum et omnium virorum mulierem appellat.

53 Vini parcissimum ne inimici quidem negaverunt. Marci Catonis est: *unum ex omnibus Caesarem ad evertendam rem publicam sobrium accessisse.* Nam circa victum Gaius Oppius adeo indifferentem docet ut quondam ab hospite conditum oleum pro viridi adpositum aspernantibus ceteris solum etiam largius appetisse scribat, ne hospitem aut neglegentiae aut rusticitatis videretur arguere.

54 Abstinentiam neque in imperiis neque in magistratibus praestitit. Ut enim quidam monumentis suis testati sunt, in Hispania pro consule et a sociis pecunias accepit emendicatas in auxilium aeris alieni et Lusitanorum quaedam oppida, quanquam nec imperata detrectarent et
2 advenienti portas patefacerent, diripuit hostiliter. In Gallia fana templaque deum donis referta expilavit, urbes diruit saepius ob praedam quam ob delictum; unde factum ut auro abundaret ternisque milibus nummum in libras promercale per Italiam provinciasque
3 divenderet. In primo consulatu tria milia pondo auri furatus e Capitolio tantundem inaurati aeris reposuit. Societates ac regna pretio dedit, ut qui uni Ptolemaeo prope sex milia talentorum suo Pompeique nomine abstulerit. Postea vero evidentissimis rapinis ac sacri-

legis et onera bellorum civilium et triumphorum ac munerum sustinuit impendia.

Eloquentia militarique re aut aequavit praestan- 55
tissimorum gloriam aut excessit. Post accusationem Dolabellae haud dubie principibus patronis adnumeratus est. Certe Cicero ad Brutum oratores enumerans negat se videre cui debeat Caesar cedere aitque eum elegantem, splendidam quoque atque etiam magnificam et generosam quodam modo rationem dicendi tenere; et ad Cornelium Nepotem de eodem ita scripsit: Quid? 2
Oratorem quem huic antepones eorum qui nihil aliud egerunt? Quis sententiis aut acutior aut crebrior? Quis verbis aut ornatior aut elegantior? Genus eloquentiae dumtaxat adulescens adhuc Strabonis Caesaris secutus videtur, cuius etiam ex oratione quae inscribitur pro Sardis ad verbum nonnulla transtulit in divinationem suam. Pronuntiasse autem dicitur voce acuta, ardenti motu gestuque, non sine venustate. Orationes aliquas 3
reliquit, inter quas temere quaedam feruntur. Pro Quinto Metello non immerito Augustus existimat magis ab actuaris exceptam male subsequentibus verba dicentis quam ab ipso editam; nam in quibusdam exemplaribus invenio ne inscriptam quidem pro Metello, sed quam scripsit Metello, cum ex persona Caesaris sermo sit Metellum seque adversus communium obtrectatorum criminationes purgantis. Apud Milites quoque in Hispania idem Augustus 4
vix ipsius putat, quae tamen duplex fertur: una quasi priore habita proelio, altera posteriore, quo Asinius Pollio ne tempus quidem contionandi habuisse eum dicit subita hostium incursione.

56 Reliquit et rerum suarum commentarios Gallici
civilisque belli Pompeiani. Nam Alexandrini Africique
et Hispaniensis incertus auctor est: alii Oppium putant,
alii Hirtium, qui etiam Gallici belli novissimum im-
perfectumque librum suppleverit. De commentariis
2 Caesaris Cicero in eodem Bruto sic refert: Commen-
tarios scripsit valde quidem probandos;
nudi sunt, recti et venusti, omni ornatu ora-
tionis tamquam veste detracta; sed dum
voluit alios habere parata unde sumerent
qui vellent scribere historiam, ineptis gra-
tum fortasse fecit, qui illa volent calami-
stris inurere, sanos quidem homines a scri-
3 bendo deterruit. De isdem commentariis Hirtius
ita praedicat: Adeo probantur omnium iudi-
cio ut praerepta, non praebita facultas
scriptoribus videatur. Cuius tamen rei ma-
ior nostra quam reliquorum est admiratio;
ceteri enim quam bene atque emendate, nos
etiam quam facile atque celeriter eos per-
4 scripserit scimus. Pollio Asinius parum dili-
genter parumque integra veritate compositos putat,
cum Caesar pleraque et quae per alios erant gesta
temere crediderit et quae per se, vel consulto vel etiam
memoria lapsus, perperam ediderit; existimatque re-
5 scripturum et correcturum fuisse. Reliquit et de Ana-
logia duos libros et Anticatones totidem ac
praeterea poema quod inscribitur Iter. Quorum libro-
rum primos in transitu Alpium, cum ex citeriore Gallia
conventibus peractis ad exercitum rediret, sequentes
sub tempus Mundensis proelii fecit; novissimum, dum
ab urbe in Hispaniam ulteriorem quarto et vicensimo

die pervenit. Epistulae quoque eius ad senatum extant 6
quas primum videtur ad paginas et formam memorialis
libelli convertisse, cum antea consules et duces non
nisi transversa charta scriptas mitterent. Extant et ad
Ciceronem, item ad familiares domesticis de rebus, in
quibus, si qua occultius perferenda erant, per notas
scripsit, id est sic structo litterarum ordine ut nullum
verbum effici posset: quae si qui investigare et perse-
qui velit, quartam elementorum litteram, id est D, pro
A et perinde reliquas commutet. Feruntur et † aitvero 7
ab adulescentulo quaedam scripta, ut *Laudes Her-
culis*, tragoedia *Oedipus*, item *Dicta Collectanea*:
quos omnis libellos vetuit Augustus publicari in epistula
quam brevem admodum ac simplicem ad Pompeium
Macrum, cui ordinandas bibliothecas delegaverat, misit.

Armorum et equitandi peritissimus, laboris ultra 57
fidem patiens erat. In agmine nonnumquam equo, sae-
pius pedibus anteibat, capite detecto seu sol seu imber
esset; longissimas vias incredibili celeritate confecit,
expeditus, meritoria raeda, centena passuum milia in
singulos dies; si flumina morarentur, nando traiciens
vel innixus inflatis utribus, ut persaepe nuntios de se
praevenerit.

In obeundis expeditionibus dubium cautior an 58
audentior, exercitum neque per insidiosa itinera duxit
umquam nisi perspeculatus locorum situs neque in
Britanniam transvexit nisi ante per se portus et naviga-
tionem et accessum ad insulam explorasset. At idem
obsessione castrorum in Germania nuntiata per stationes
hostium Gallico habitu penetravit ad suos. A Brundisio 2
Dyrrachium inter oppositas classes hieme transmisit
cessantibusque copiis quas subsequi iusserat cum ad

accersendas frustra saepe misisset, novissime ipse clam noctu parvulum navigium solus obvoluto capite conscendit, neque aut quis esset ante detexit aut gubernatorem cedere adversae tempestati passus est quam paene obrutus fluctibus.

59 Ne religione quidem ulla a quoquam incepto absterritus umquam vel retardatus est. Cum immolanti aufugisset hostia, profectionem adversus Scipionem et Iubam non distulit. Prolapsus etiam in egressu navis verso ad melius omine; *Teneo te*, inquit, *Africa*. Ad eludendas autem vaticinationes quibus felix et invictum in ea provincia fataliter Scipionum nomen ferebatur, despectissimum quendam ex Corneliorum genere, cui ad opprobrium vitae Salvitoni cognomen erat, in castris secum habuit.

60 Proelia non tantum destinato, sed ex occasione sumebat ac saepe ab itinere statim, interdum spurcissimis tempestatibus, cum minime quis moturum putaret; nec nisi tempore extremo ad dimicandum cunctatior factus est, quo saepius vicisset hoc minus experiendos casus opinans nihilque se tantum adquisiturum victoria quantum . . . . hostem fudit quin castris quoque exueret: ita nullum spatium perterritis dabat. Ancipiti proelio equos dimittebat et in primis suum, quo maior permanendi necessitas imponeretur auxilio fugae erepto.

61 Utebatur autem equo insigni, pedibus prope humanis et in modum digitorum ungulis fissis, quem natum apud se, cum haruspices imperium orbis terrae significare domino pronuntiassent, magna cura aluit nec patientem sessoris alterius primus ascendit; cuius etiam instar pro aede Veneris Genetricis postea dedicavit.

Inclinatam aciem solus saepe restituit obsistens 62 fugientibus retinensque singulos et contortis faucibus convertens in hostem et quidem adeo plerumque trepidos ut aquilifer moranti se cuspide sit comminatus, alius in manu detinentis reliquerit signum.

Non minor illa constantia eius: maiora etiam indicia 63 fuerint. Post aciem Pharsalicam cum praemissis in Asiam copiis per angustias Hellesponti vectoria navicula traiceret, L. Cassium partis adversae cum decem rostratis navibus obvium sibi neque refugit et comminus tendens, ultro ad deditionem hortatus, supplicem ad se recepit.

Alexandriae circa oppugnationem pontis eruptione 64 hostium subita conpulsus in scapham, pluribus eodem praecipitantibus, cum desilisset in mare, nando per ducentos passus evasit ad proximam navem, elata laeva ne libelli quos tenebat madefierent, paludamentum mordicus trahens ne spolio poteretur hostis.

Militem neque a moribus neque a fortuna probabat, 65 sed tantum a viribus, tractabatque pari severitate atque indulgentia. Non enim ubique ac semper, sed cum hostis in proximo esset, coercebat: tum maxime exactor gravissimus disciplinae, ut neque itineris neque proelii tempus denuntiaret, sed paratum et intentum momentis omnibus quo vellet subito educeret. Quod etiam sine causa plerumque faciebat, praecipue pluviis et festis diebus. Ac subinde observandum se admonens repente interdiu vel nocte subtrahebat augebatque iter ut serius subsequentis defetigaret.

Fama vero hostilium copiarum perterritos non negando 66 minuendove, sed insuper amplificando ementiendoque confirmabat. Itaque cum expectatio adventus Iubae terribilis esset, convocatis ad contionem militibus,

Scitote, inquit, paucissimis his diebus regem adfuturum cum decem legionibus, equitum triginta, levis armaturae centum milibus, elephantis trecentis. Proinde desinant quidam quaerere ultra aut opinari mihique, qui compertum habeo, credant; aut quidem vetustissima nave impositos quocumque vento in quascumque terras iubebo avehi.

67 Delicta neque observabat omnia neque pro modo exequebatur, sed desertorum ac seditiosorum et inquisitor et punitor acerrimus conivebat in ceteris. Ac nonnumquam post magnam pugnam atque victoriam remisso officiorum munere licentiam omnem passim lasciviendi permittebat, iactare solitus milites suos
2 etiam unguentatos bene pugnare posse. Nec milites eos pro contione, sed blandiore nomine commilitones appellabat habebatque tam cultos ut argento et auro politis armis ornaret, simul et ad speciem et quo tenaciores eorum in proelio essent metu damni. Diligebat quoque usque adeo ut audita clade Tituriana barbam capillumque summiserit nec ante dempserit quam vindicasset.

68 Quibus rebus et devotissimos sibi et fortissimos reddidit. Ingresso civile bellum centuriones cuiusque legionis singulos equites e viatico suo optulerunt, universi milites gratuitam et sine frumento stipendioque operam, cum tenuiorum tutelam locupletiores in se contulissent. Neque in tam diuturno spatio quisquam omnino descivit, plerique capti concessam sibi sub condicione vitam si militare adversus eum vellent
2 recusarunt. Famem et ceteras necessitates, non cum obsiderentur modo sed et si ipsi alios obsiderent, tanto

opere tolerabant ut Dyrrachina munitione Pompeius, viso genere panis ex herba quo sustinebantur, *cum feris sibi rem esse* dixerit amoverique ocius nec cuiquam ostendi iusserit ne patientia et pertinacia hostis animi suorum frangerentur.

Quanta fortitudine dimicarint testimonio est quod 3
adverso semel apud Dyrrachium proelio poenam in se ultro depoposcerunt, ut consolandos eos magis imperator quam puniendos habuerit. Ceteris proeliis innumeras adversariorum copias multis partibus ipsi pauciores facile superarunt. Denique una sextae legionis cohors praeposita castello quattuor Pompei legiones per aliquot horas sustinuit paene omnis confixa multitudine hostilium sagittarum, quarum centum ac triginta milia intra vallum reperta sunt. Nec mirum, si quis 4
singulorum facta respiciat, vel Cassi Scaevae centurionis vel Gai Acili militis, ne de pluribus referam. Scaeva excusso oculo, transfixus femore et umero, centum et viginti ictibus scuto perforato, custodiam portae commissi castelli retinuit. Acilius navali ad Massiliam proelio iniecta in puppem hostium dextera et abscisa, memorabile illud apud Graecos Cynegiri exemplum imitatus, transiluit in navem umbone obvios agens.

Seditionem per decem annos Gallicis bellis nullam 69
omnino moverunt, civilibus aliquas, sed ut celeriter ad officium redierint, nec tam indulgentia ducis quam auctoritate. Non enim cessit umquam tumultuantibus atque etiam obviam semper iit; et nonam quidem legionem apud Placentiam, quanquam in armis adhuc Pompeius esset, totam cum ignominia missam fecit aegreque post multas et supplicis preces, nec nisi exacta de sontibus poena, restituit.

70 Decimanos autem Romae cum ingentibus minis summoque etiam urbis periculo missionem et praemia flagitantes, ardente tunc in Africa bello, neque adire cunctatus est, quanquam deterrentibus amicis, neque dimittere; sed una voce, qua *Quirites* eos pro militibus appellarat, tam facile circumegit et flexit ut ei milites esse confestim responderint et quamvis recusantem ultro in Africam sint secuti; ac sic quoque seditiosissimum quemque et praedae et agri destinati tertia parte multavit.

71 Studium et fides erga clientis ne iuveni quidem defuerunt. Masintham nobilem iuvenem, cum adversus Hiempsalem regem tam enixe defendisset ut Iubae regis filio in altercatione barbam invaserit, stipendiarium quoque pronuntiatum et abstrahentibus statim eripuit occultavitque apud se diu et mox ex praetura proficiscens in Hispaniam inter officia prosequentium fascesque lictorum lectica sua avexit.

72 Amicos tanta semper facilitate indulgentiaque tractavit ut Gaio Oppio comitanti se per silvestre iter correptoque subita valitudine deversoriolo quod unum erat cesserit et ipse humi ac sub divo cubuerit. Iam autem rerum potens quosdam etiam infimi generis ad amplissimos honores provexit, cum ob id culparetur, professus palam *si grassatorum et sicariorum ope in tuenda sua dignitate usus esset, talibus quoque se parem gratiam relaturum.*

73 Simultates contra nullas tam graves excepit umquam ut non occasione oblata libens deponeret. Gai Memmi, cuius asperrimis orationibus non minore acerbitate rescripserat, etiam suffragator mox in petitione consulatus fuit. Gaio Calvo post famosa epigrammata de recon-

ciliatione per amicos agenti ultro ac prior scripsit. Valerium Catullum, a quo sibi versiculis de Mamurra perpetua stigmata imposita non dissimulaverat, satis facientem eadem die adhibuit cenae hospitioque patris eius, sicut consuerat, uti perseveravit.

Sed et in ulciscendo natura lenissimus piratas a qui- 74
bus captus est cum in dicionem redegisset, quoniam suffixurum se cruci ante iuraverat, iugulari prius iussit, deinde suffigi; Cornelio Phagitae, cuius quondam nocturnas insidias aeger ac latens ne perduceretur ad Sullam vix praemio dato evaserat, numquam nocere sustinuit; Philemonem a manu servum qui necem suam per venenum inimicis promiserat non gravius quam simplici morte puniit; in Publium Clodium, Pompeiae 2
uxoris suae adulterum atque eadem de causa pollutarum caerimoniarum reum, testis citatus negavit se quicquam comperisse, quamvis et mater Aurelia et soror Iulia apud eosdem iudices omnia ex fide rettulissent; interrogatusque cur igitur repudiasset uxorem, *Quoniam*, inquit, *meos tam suspicione quam crimine iudico carere oportere.*

Moderationem vero clementiamque cum in administra- 75
tione tum in victoria belli civilis admirabilem exhibuit. Denuntiante Pompeio pro hostibus se habiturum qui rei publicae defuissent, ipse medios et neutrius partis suorum sibi numero futuros pronuntiavit. Quibus autem ex commendatione Pompei ordines dederat, potestatem transeundi ad eum omnibus fecit. Motis apud Ilerdam 2
deditionis condicionibus, cum, assiduo inter utrasque partes usu atque commercio, Afranius et Petreius deprehensos intra castra Iulianos subita paenitentia interfecissent, admissam in se perfidiam non sustinuit imitari.

Acie Pharsalica proclamavit ut civibus parceretur, dein-
cepsque nemini non suorum quem vellet unum partis
3 adversae servare concessit. Nec ulli perisse nisi in
proelio reperientur, exceptis dum taxat Afranio et
Fausto et Lucio Caesare iuvene; ac ne hos quidem
voluntate ipsius interemptos putant, quorum tamen et
priores post impetratam veniam rebellaverant et Caesar,
libertis servisque eius ferro et igni crudelem in modum
enectis, bestias quoque ad munus populi comparatas
4 contrucidaverat. Denique tempore extremo etiam qui-
bus nondum ignoverat cunctis in Italiam redire per-
misit magistratusque et imperia capere; sed et statuas
Luci Sullae atque Pompei a plebe disiectas reposuit;
ac si qua posthac aut cogitarentur gravius adversus
se aut dicerentur, inhibere maluit quam vindicare.
5 Itaque et detectas coniurationes conventusque noctur-
nos non ultra arguit quam ut edicto ostenderet esse
sibi notas, et acerbe loquentibus satis habuit pro con-
tione denuntiare ne perseverarent, Aulique Caecinae
criminosissimo libro et Pitholai carminibus maledicen-
tissimis laceratam existimationem suam civili animo
tulit.

76 Praegravant tamen cetera facta dictaque eius, ut et abusus dominatione et iure caesus existimetur. Non enim honores modo nimios recepit: continuum consulatum, perpetuam dictaturam praefecturamque morum, insuper praenomen Imperatoris, cognomen Patris patriae, statuam inter reges, suggestum in orchestra; sed et ampliora etiam humano fastigio decerni sibi passus est: sedem auream in curia et pro tribunali, tensam et ferculum circensi pompa, templa, aras, simulacra iuxta deos, pulvinar, flaminem, lupercos, appellationem mensis e suo

nomine; ac nullos non honores ad libidinem cepit et dedit.
Tertium et quartum consulatum titulo tenus gessit, con- 2
tentus dictaturae potestate decretae cum consulatibus simul, atque utroque anno binos consules substituit sibi in ternos novissimos menses, ita ut medio tempore comitia nulla habuerit praeter tribunorum et aedilium plebis praefectosque pro praetoribus constituerit qui apsente se res urbanas administrarent. Pridie autem Kalendas Ianuarias repentina consulis morte cessantem honorem in paucas horas petenti dedit. Eadem licentia spreto 3
patrio more magistratus in pluris annos ordinavit, decem praetoris viris consularia ornamenta tribuit, civitate donatos et quosdam e semibarbaris Gallorum recepit in curiam. Praeterea monetae publicisque vectigalibus peculiares servos praeposuit. Trium legionum quas Alexandreae relinquebat curam et imperium Rufioni liberti sui filio exoleto suo demandavit.

Nec minoris inpotentiae voces propalam edebat, ut 77
Titus Ampius scribit: nihil esse rem publicam, appellationem modo sine corpore ac specie. Sullam nescisse litteras, qui dictaturam deposuerit. Debere homines consideratius iam loqui secum ac pro legibus habere quae dicat. Eoque arrogantiae progressus est ut, haruspice tristia et sine corde exta quondam nuntiante, futura diceret laetiora, cum vellet; nec pro ostento ducendum si pecudi cor defuisset.

Verum praecipuam et exitiabilem sibi invidiam hinc 78
maxime movit. Adeuntis se cum plurimis honorificentissimisque decretis universos patres conscriptos sedens pro aede Veneris Genetricis excepit. Quidam putant retentum a Cornelio Balbo cum conaretur assurgere;

alii, ne conatum quidem omnino, sed etiam admonentem Gaium Trebatium ut assurgeret minus familiari vultu
2 respexisse. Idque factum eius tanto intolerabilius est visum quod ipse triumphanti et subsellia tribunicia praetervehenti sibi unum e collegio Pontium Aquilam non assurrexisse adeo indignatus sit ut proclamaverit: Repete ergo a me, Aquila, rem publicam tribunus! et nec destiterit per continuos dies quicquam cuiquam nisi sub exceptione polliceri: Si tamen per Pontium Aquilam licuerit.

79 Adiecit ad tam insignem despecti senatus contumeliam multo arrogantius factum. Nam cum in sacrificio Latinarum, revertente eo inter inmodicas ac novas populi acclamationes, quidam e turba statuae eius coronam lauream candida fascia praeligata inposuisset et tribuni plebis Epidius Marullus Caesetiusque Flavus coronae fasciam detrahi hominemque duci in vincula iussissent, dolens seu parum prospere motam regni mentionem sive, ut ferebat, ereptam sibi gloriam recusandi, tribunos graviter increpi-
2 tos potestate privavit. Neque ex eo infamiam affectati etiam regii nominis discutere valuit, quanquam et plebei regem se salutanti Caesarem se, non regem esse responderit et Lupercalibus pro rostris a consule Antonio admotum saepius capiti suo diadema reppulerit atque in
3 Capitolium Iovi Optimo Maximo miserit. Quin etiam varia fama percrebruit migraturum Alexandream vel Ilium, translatis simul opibus imperii exhaustaque Italia dilectibus et procuratione urbis amicis permissa; proximo autem senatu Lucium Cottam quindecimvirum sententiam dicturum ut, quoniam fatalibus libris contineretur Parthos nisi a rege non posse vinci, Caesar rex appellaretur.

Quae causa coniuratis maturandi fuit destinata negotia, 80
ne assentiri necesse esset.

Consilia igitur dispersim antea habita et quae saepe bini ternive ceperant in unum omnes contulerunt, ne populo quidem iam praesenti statu laeto, sed clam palamque detrectante dominationem atque assertores flagitante. Peregrinis in senatum allectis libellus propositus 2
est: *Bonum factum: ne quis senatori novo curiam monstrare velit!* Et illa vulgo canebantur:

Gallos Caesar in triumphum ducit, idem in curiam:
Galli bracas deposuerunt, latum clavum sumpserunt.

Quinto Maximo suffecto trimenstrique consule theatrum introeunte, cum lictor animadverti ex more iussisset, ab universis conclamatum est non esse eum consulem. Post 3
remotos Caesetium et Marullum tribunos reperta sunt proximis comitiis complura suffragia consules eos declarantium. Subscripsere quidam Luci Bruti statuae: *Utinam viveres!* item ipsius Caesaris:

Brutus, quia reges eiecit, consul primus factus est:
hic, quia consules eiecit, rex postremo factus est.

Conspiratum est in eum a sexaginta amplius, Gaio Cassio 4
Marcoque et Decimo Bruto principibus conspirationis. Qui primum cunctati utrumne in Campo per comitia tribus ad suffragia vocantem partibus divisis e ponte deicerent atque exceptum trucidarent an in Sacra via vel in aditu theatri adorirentur, postquam senatus Idibus Mar-

tiis in Pompei curiam edictus est, facile tempus et locum praetulerunt.

81 Sed Caesari futura caedes evidentibus prodigiis denuntiata est. Paucos ante menses, cum in colonia Capua deducti lege Iulia coloni ad extruendas villas vetustissima sepulcra disicerent idque eo studiosius facerent, quod aliquantum vasculorum operis antiqui scrutantes reperiebant, tabula aenea in monimento, in quo dicebatur Capys conditor Capuae sepultus, inventa est conscripta litteris verbisque Graecis hac sententia: quandoque ossa Capyis detecta essent, fore ut illo prognatus manu consanguineorum necaretur magnisque mox Italiae cladibus vindicaretur.
2 Cuius rei, ne quis fabulosam aut commenticiam putet, auctor est Cornelius Balbus, familiarissimus Caesaris. Proximis diebus equorum greges quos in traiciendo Rubiconi flumini consecrarat ac vagos et sine custode dimiserat comperit pertinacissime pabulo abstinere ubertimque flere. Et immolantem haruspex Spurinna monuit caveret periculum, quod non ultra Martias Idus
3 proferretur. Pridie autem easdem Idus avem regaliolum cum laureo ramulo Pompeianae curiae se inferentem volucres varii generis ex proximo nemore persecutae ibidem discerpserunt. Ea vero nocte cui inluxit dies caedis et ipse sibi visus est per quietem interdum supra nubes volitare, alias cum Iove dextram iungere; et Calpurnia uxor imaginata est conlabi fastigium domus maritumque in gremio suo confodi; ac subito cubiculi fores sponte patuerunt.

4 Ob haec simul et ob infirmam valitudinem diu cunctatus an se contineret et quae apud senatum proposuerat agere differret, tandem Decimo Bruto adhortante ne frequentis

ac iam dudum opperientis destitueret, quinta fere hora progressus est libellumque insidiarum indicem ab obvio quodam porrectum libellis ceteris quos sinistra manu tenebat quasi mox lecturus commiscuit. Dein pluribus hostiis caesis cum litare non posset, introiit curiam spreta religione Spurinnamque irridens et ut falsum arguens quod sine ulla sua noxa Idus Martiae adessent: quanquam is venisse quidem eas diceret, sed non praeterisse.

Assidentem conspirati specie officii circumsteterunt, 82
ilicoque Cimber Tillius, qui primas partes susceperat,
quasi aliquid rogaturus propius accessit renuentique et
gestu in aliud tempus differenti ab utroque umero togam
adprehendit; deinde clamantem: Ista quidem vis
est! alter e Cascis aversum vulnerat paulum infra iugu-
lum. Caesar Cascae brachium arreptum graphio traiecit 2
conatusque prosilire alio vulnere tardatus est; utque
animadvertit undique se strictis pugionibus peti, toga
caput obvolvit, simul sinistra manu sinum ad ima crura
deduxit quo honestius caderet etiam inferiore corporis
parte velata. Atque ita tribus et viginti plagis confossus
est uno modo ad primum ictum gemitu sine voce edito,
etsi tradiderunt quidam Marco Bruto irruenti dixisse:
Καὶ σὺ τέκνον; Exanimis diffugientibus cunctis aliquamdiu 3
iacuit, donec lecticae impositum, dependente brachio,
tres servoli domum rettulerunt. Nec in tot vulneribus,
ut Antistius medicus existimabat, letale ullum repertum
est nisi quod secundo loco in pectore acceperat.

Fuerat animus coniuratis corpus occisi in Tiberim 4
trahere, bona publicare, acta rescindere, sed metu Marci
Antoni consulis et magistri equitum Lepidi destiterunt.

Postulante ergo Lucio Pisone socero, testamentum eius 83

aperitur recitaturque in Antoni domo, quod Idibus Sep-
tembribus proximis in Lavicano suo fecerat demandave-
ratque virgini Vestali maximae. Quintus Tubero tradit
heredem ab eo scribi solitum ex consulatu ipsius primo
usque ad initium civilis belli Cn. Pompeium, idque mili-
2 tibus pro contione recitatum. Sed novissimo testamento
tres instituit heredes sororum nepotes, Gaium Octavium
ex dodrante et Lucium Pinarium et Quintum Pedium ex
quadrante reliquo; in ima cera Gaium Octavium etiam
in familiam nomenque adoptavit; plerosque percussorum
in tutoribus fili, si qui sibi nasceretur, nominavit, Deci-
mum Brutum etiam in secundis heredibus. Populo hor-
tos circa Tiberim publice et viritim trecenos sestertios
legavit.

84 Funere indicto rogus extructus est in Martio campo
iuxta Iuliae tumulum et pro rostris aurata aedes ad
simulacrum templi Veneris Genetricis collocata; intra-
que lectus eburneus auro ac purpura stratus et ad caput
tropaeum cum veste in qua fuerat occisus. Praeferenti-
bus munera, quia suffecturus dies non videbatur, praecep-
tum ut omisso ordine quibus quisque vellet itineribus
2 urbis portaret in Campum. Inter ludos cantata sunt
quaedam ad miserationem et invidiam caedis eius ac-
commodata, ex Pacuvi Armorum Iudicio:

Men servasse, ut essent qui me perderent?

Et ex Electra Acili ad similem sententiam. Laudationis
loco consul Antonius per praeconem pronuntiavit senatus
consultum quo omnia simul ei divina atque humana
decreverat, item ius iurandum quo se cuncti pro salute
unius astrinxerant; quibus perpauca a se verba addidit.
3 Lectum pro rostris in forum magistratus et honoribus
functi detulerunt. Quem cum pars in Capitolini Iovis

cella cremare pars in curia Pompei destinaret, repente duo quidam gladiis succincti ac bina iacula gestantes ardentibus cereis succenderunt confestimque circumstantium turba virgulta arida et cum subselliis tribunalia, quicquid praeterea ad donum aderat, congessit. Deinde 4 tibicines et scaenici artifices vestem, quam ex triumphorum instrumento ad praesentem usum induerant, detractam sibi atque discissam iniecere flammae et veteranorum militum legionarii arma sua, quibus exculti funus celebrabant; matronae etiam pleraeque ornamenta sua, quae gerebant, et liberorum bullas atque praetextas.

In summo publico luctu exterarum gentium multitudo 5 circulatim suo quaeque more lamentata est praecipueque Iudaei, qui etiam noctibus continuis bustum frequentarunt.

Plebs statim a funere ad domum Bruti et Cassi cum 85 facibus tetendit atque aegre repulsa obvium sibi Helvium Cinnam per errorem nominis, quasi Cornelius is esset, quem graviter pridie contionatum de Caesare requirebat, occidit caputque eius praefixum hastae circumtulit. Postea solidam columnam prope viginti pedum lapidis Numidici in foro statuit inscripsitque PARENTI PATRIAE. Apud eam longo tempore sacrificare, vota suscipere, controversias quasdam interposito per Caesarem iure iurando distrahere perseveravit.

Suspicionem Caesar quibusdam suorum reliquit neque 86 voluisse se diutius vivere neque curasse quod valitudine minus prospera uteretur, ideoque et quae religiones monerent et quae renuntiarent amici neglexisse. Sunt qui putent confisum eum novissimo illo senatus consulto ac iure iurando etiam custodias Hispanorum cum gladiis †adinspectantium se removisse. Alii e diverso opinantur 2

insidias undique imminentis subire semel quam cavere . . . solitum ferunt: non tam sua quam rei publicae interesse uti salvus esset: se iam pridem potentiae gloriaeque abunde adeptum; rem publicam, si quid sibi eveniret, neque quietam fore et aliquanto deteriore condicione civilia bella subituram.

87 Illud plane inter omnes fere constitit, talem ei mortem paene ex sententia obtigisse. Nam et quondam, cum apud Xenophontem legisset Cyrum ultima valitudine mandasse quaedam de funere suo, aspernatus tam lentum mortis genus subitam sibi celeremque optaverat; et pridie quam occideretur, in sermone nato super cenam apud Marcum Lepidum quisnam esset finis vitae commodissimus, repentinum inopinatumque praetulerat.

88 Periit sexto et quinquagensimo aetatis anno atque in deorum numerum relatus est, non ore modo decernentium, sed et persuasione volgi. Siquidem ludis quos primos consecrato ei heres Augustus edebat stella crinita per septem continuos dies fulsit, exoriens circa undecimam horam, creditumque est animam esse Caesaris in caelum recepti; et hac de causa simulacro eius in vertice additur stella.

Curiam in qua occisus est obstrui placuit Idusque Martias Parricidium nominari ac ne umquam eo die senatus ageretur.

89 Percussorum autem fere neque triennio quisquam amplius supervixit neque sua morte defunctus est. Damnati omnes alius alio casu periit, pars naufragio, pars proelio; nonnulli semet eodem illo pugione quo Caesarem violaverant interemerunt.

C. SUETONI TRANQUILLI

DE VITA CAESARUM

LIBER II.

DIVUS AUGUSTUS

Gentem Octaviam Velitris praecipuam olim fuisse 1
multa declarant. Nam et vicus celeberrima parte oppidi iam pridem Octavius vocabatur et ostendebatur ara Octavio consecrata qui bello dux finitimo, cum forte Marti rem divinam faceret, nuntiata repente hostis incursione semicruda exta rapta foco prosecuit atque ita proelium ingressus victor redit. Decretum etiam publicum extabat quo cavebatur ut in posterum quoque simili modo exta Marti redderentur reliquiaeque ad Octavios referrentur.

Ea gens a Tarquinio Prisco rege inter minores gentis 2
adlecta in senatum, mox a Servio Tullio in patricias traducta, procedente tempore ad plebem se contulit ac rursus magno intervallo per Divum Iulium in patriciatum redit. Primus ex hac magistratum populi suffragio cepit C.
Rufus. Is quaestorius Cn. et C. procreavit, a quibus 2
duplex Octaviorum familia defluxit condicione diversa, siquidem Gnaeus et deinceps ab eo reliqui omnes functi sunt honoribus summis; at C. eiusque posteri, seu fortuna seu voluntate, in equestri ordine constiterunt usque ad Augusti patrem. Proavus Augusti secundo Punico bello

stipendia in Sicilia tribunus militum fecit Aemilio Papo
imperatore. Avus municipalibus magisteriis contentus
3 abundante patrimonio tranquillissime senuit. Sed haec
alii; ipse Augustus nihil amplius quam equestri familia
ortum se scribit vetere ac locuplete et in qua primus
senator pater suus fuerit. M. Antonius libertinum ei
proavum exprobrat, restionem e pago Thurino, avum
argentarium. Nec quicquam ultra de paternis Augusti
maioribus repperi.

3 C. Octavius pater a principio aetatis et re et existi-
matione magna fuit, ut equidem mirer hunc quoque a
nonnullis argentarium atque etiam inter divisores ope-
rasque campestres proditum; amplis enim innutritus
opibus honores et adeptus est facile et egregie admini-
stravit. Ex praetura Macedoniam sortitus fugitivos,
residuam Spartaci et Catilinae manum, Thurinum agrum
tenentis in itinere delevit, negotio sibi in senatu extra
2 ordinem dato. Provinciae praefuit non minore iustitia
quam fortitudine; namque Bessis ac Thracibus magno
proelio fusis ita socios tractavit ut epistulae M. Ciceronis
extent quibus Quintum fratrem, eodem tempore parum
secunda fama proconsulatum Asiae administrantem, hor-
tatur et monet imitetur in promerendis sociis vicinum
suum Octavium.

4 Decedens Macedonia, prius quam profiteri se candida-
tum consulatus posset, mortem obiit repentinam, supersti-
tibus liberis Octavia maiore, quam ex Ancharia, et Octavia
minore item Augusto, quos ex Atia tulerat. Atia M.
Atio Balbo et Iulia, sorore C. Caesaris, genita est. Bal-
bus, paterna stirpe Aricinus, multis in familia senatoriis
imaginibus, a matre Magnum Pompeium artissimo con-
tingebat gradu functusque honore praeturae inter vigin-

tiviros agrum Campanum plebi Iulia lege divisit. Verum 2
idem Antonius, despiciens etiam maternam Augusti originem, proavum eius Afri generis fuisse et modo unguentariam tabernam modo pistrinum Ariciae exercuisse obicit. Cassius quidem Parmensis quadam epistula non tantum ut pistoris, sed etiam ut nummulari nepotem sic taxat Augustum: Materna tibi farina est ex crudissimo Ariciae pistrino: hanc finxit manibus collybo decoloratis Nerulonensis mensarius.

Natus est Augustus M. Tullio Cicerone C. Antonio 5
conss. VIIII. Kal. Octob. paulo ante solis exortum regione Palati ad Capita Bubula, ubi nunc sacrarium habet, aliquanto post quam excessit constitutum. Nam ut senatus actis continetur, cum C. Laetorius, adulescens patricii generis, in deprecanda graviore adulterii poena praeter aetatem atque natales hoc quoque patribus conscriptis allegaret, esse possessorem ac velut aedituum soli quod primum Divus Augustus nascens attigisset, peteretque donari quasi proprio suo ac peculiari deo, decretum est ut ea pars domus consecraretur.

Nutrimentorum eius ostenditur adhuc locus in avito 6
suburbano iuxta Velitras permodicus et cellae penuariae instar, tenetque vicinitatem opinio tamquam et natus ibi sit. Huc introire nisi necessario et caste religio est, concepta opinione veteri quasi temere adeuntibus horror quidam et metus obiciatur, sed et mox confirmata. Nam cum possessor villae novus seu forte seu temptandi causa cubitum se eo contulisset, evenit ut post paucissimas noctis horas exturbatus inde subita vi et incerta paene semianimis cum strato simul ante fores inveniretur.

Infanti cognomen Thurino inditum est, in memoriam 7
maiorum originis vel quod regione Thurina recens eo

nato pater Octavius adversus fugitivos rem prospere gesserat. Thurinum cognominatum satis certa probatione tradiderim, nactus puerilem imagunculam eius aeream veterem ferreis et paene iam exolescentibus litteris hoc nomine inscriptam, quae dono a me principi data inter cubiculi Lares colitur. Sed et a M. Antonio in epistulis per contumeliam saepe Thurinus appellatur et ipse nihil amplius quam mirari se rescribit pro obprobrio sibi prius
2 nomen obici. Postea Gai Caesaris et deinde Augusti cognomen assumpsit, alterum testamento maioris avunculi, alterum Munati Planci sententia, cum quibusdam censentibus Romulum appellari oportere, quasi et ipsum conditorem urbis, praevaluisset ut Augustus potius vocaretur, non tantum novo sed etiam ampliore cognomine, quod loca quoque religiosa et in quibus augurato quid consecratur augusta dicantur ab auctu vel ab avium gestu gustuve, sicut etiam Ennius docet scribens :

> Augusto augurio postquam incluta condita Roma est.

8 Quadrimus patrem amisit. Duodecimum annum agens aviam Iuliam defunctam pro contione laudavit. Quadriennio post virili toga sumpta militaribus donis triumpho Caesaris Africano donatus est, quanquam expers belli propter aetatem. Profectum mox avunculum in Hispanias adversus Cn. Pompei liberos, vixdum firmus a gravi valitudine, per infestas hostibus vias paucissimis comitibus, naufragio etiam facto, subsecutus magno opere demeruit, approbata cito etiam morum indole super itineris industriam.

2 Caesare post receptas Hispanias expeditionem in Dacos et inde in Parthos destinante, praemissus Apolloniam

studiis vacavit. Utque primum occisum eum heredemque se comperit, diu cunctatus an proximas legiones imploraret, id quidem consilium ut praeceps immaturumque omisit. Ceterum urbe repetita hereditatem adiit, dubitante matre, vitrico vero Marcio Philippo consulari multum dissuadente. Atque ab eo tempore exercitibus compara- 3
tis, primum cum M. Antonio M.que Lepido, deinde tantum cum Antonio per duodecim fere annos, novissime per quattuor et quadraginta solus rem p. tenuit.

Proposita vitae eius velut summa, partes singillatim 9
neque per tempora sed per species exequar, quo distinctius demonstrari cognoscique possint.

Bella civilia quinque gessit: Mutinense, Philippense, Perusinum, Siculum, Actiacum; e quibus primum ac novissimum adversus M. Antonium, secundum adversus Brutum et Cassium, tertium adversus L. Antonium triumviri fratrem, quartum adversus Sextum Pompeium Cn. filium.

Omnium bellorum initium et causam hinc sumpsit: 10
nihil convenientius ducens quam necem avunculi vindicare tuerique acta, confestim ut Apollonia rediit, Brutum Cassiumque et vi necopinantis et, quia provisum periculum subterfugerant, legibus adgredi reosque caedis absentis deferre statuit. Ludos autem victoriae Caesaris non audentibus facere quibus optigerat id munus, ipse edidit. Et quo constantius cetera quoque exequeretur 2
in locum tr. pl. forte demortui candidatum se ostendit, quanquam patricius necdum senator. Sed adversante conatibus suis M. Antonio consule, quem vel praecipuum adiutorem speraverat, ac ne publicum quidem et translativum ius ulla in re sibi sine pactione gravissimae mercedis impertiente ad optimates se contulit, quibus eum

invisum sentiebat, maxime quod D. Brutum obsessum
Mutinae provincia a Caesare data et per senatum con-
3 firmata expellere armis niteretur. Hortantibus itaque
nonnullis percussores ei subornavit, ac fraude deprehensa
periculum in vicem metuens veteranos simul in suum ac
rei p. auxilium quanta potuit largitione contraxit; ius-
susque comparato exercitui pro praetore praeesse et cum
Hirtio ac Pansa, qui consulatum susceperant, D. Bruto
opem ferre, demandatum bellum tertio mense confecit
4 duobus proeliis. Priore Antonius fugisse eum scribit ac
sine paludamento equoque post biduum demum apparu-
isse, sequenti satis constat non modo ducis, sed etiam
militis functum munere atque in media dimicatione,
aquilifero legionis suae graviter saucio, aquilam umeris
subisse diuque portasse.

11 Hoc bello cum Hirtius in acie, Pansa paulo post ex vulnere perissent, rumor increbruit ambos opera eius occisos, ut Antonio fugato, re p. consulibus orbata, solus victores exercitus occuparet. Pansae quidem adeo suspecta mors fuit ut Glyco medicus custoditus sit quasi venenum vulneri indidisset. Adicit his Aquilius Niger alterum e consulibus Hirtium in pugnae tumultu ab ipso interemptum.

12 Sed ut cognovit Antonium post fugam a M. Lepido receptum ceterosque duces et exercitus consentire pro partibus, causam optimatium sine cunctatione deseruit, ad praetextum mutatae voluntatis dicta factaque quorundam calumniatus quasi alii se puerum, alii ornandum tollendumque iactassent ne aut sibi aut veteranis par gratia referretur. Et quo magis paenitentiam prioris sectae approbaret, Nursinos, grandi pecunia et quam pendere nequirent multatos, extorres oppido egit quod Mutinensi

acie interemptorum civium tumulo publice extructo
ascripserant *pro libertate eos occubuisse.*

Inita cum Antonio et Lepido societate Philippense 13
quoque bellum, quamquam invalidus atque aeger, du-
plici proelio transegit, quorum priore castris exutus vix
ad Antoni cornu fuga evaserat. Nec successum victoriae
moderatus est, sed capite Bruti Romam misso ut statuae
Caesaris subiceretur, in splendidissimum quemque capti-
vum non sine verborum contumelia saeviit; ut quidem uni 2
suppliciter sepulturam precanti respondisse dicitur *iam
istam volucrum fore potestatem*; alios, patrem
et filium, pro vita rogantis sortiri vel micare iussisse
ut alterutri concederetur, ac spectasse utrumque morien-
tem cum patre, quia se optulerat, occiso filius quoque
voluntariam occubuisset necem. Quare ceteri, in his M.
Favonius ille Catonis aemulus, cum catenati produceren-
tur, imperatore Antonio honorifice salutato, hunc foedis-
simo convicio coram prosciderunt.

Partitis post victoriam officiis, cum Antonius Orien- 3
tem ordinandum, ipse veteranos in Italiam reducendos
et municipalibus agris collocandos recepisset, neque
veteranorum neque possessorum gratiam tenuit, alteris
pelli se, alteris non pro spe meritorum tractari queren-
tibus.

Quo tempore L. Antonium fiducia consulatus, quem 14
gerebat, ac fraternae potentiae res novas molientem con-
fugere Perusiam coegit et ad deditionem fame conpulit,
non tamen sine magnis suis et ante bellum et in bello
discriminibus. Nam cum spectaculo ludorum gregarium
militem in quattuordecim ordinibus sedentem excitari
per apparitorem iussisset, rumore ab obtrectatoribus di-
lato quasi eundem mox et discruciatum necasset, mini-

mum afuit quin periret concursu et indignatione turbae militaris. Saluti fuit quod qui desiderabatur repente comparuit incolumis ac sine iniuria. Circa Perusinum autem murum sacrificans paene interceptus est a manu gladiatorum, quae oppido eruperat.

15 Perusia capta in plurimos animadvertit, orare veniam vel excusare se conantibus una voce occurrens, *moriendum esse*. Scribunt quidam trecentos ex dediticiis electos utriusque ordinis ad aram Divo Iulio extructam Idibus Martiis hostiarum more mactatos. Extiterunt qui traderent conpecto eum ad arma isse ut occulti adversarii et quos metus magis quam voluntas contineret, facultate L. Antoni ducis praebita, detegerentur devictisque is et confiscatis promissa veteranis praemia solverentur.

16 Siculum bellum incohavit in primis, sed diu traxit intermissum saepius, modo reparandarum classium causa, quas tempestatibus duplici naufragio et quidem per aestatem amiserat, modo pace facta, flagitante populo ob interclusos commeatus famemque ingravescentem; donec, navibus ex integro fabricatis ac viginti servorum milibus manumissis et ad remum datis, portum Iulium apud Baias inmisso in Lucrinum et Avernum lacum mari effecit. In quo cum hieme tota copias exercuisset, Pompeium inter Mylas et Naulochum superavit, sub horam pugnae tam arto repente somno devinctus ut ad dandum signum ab amicis excitaretur. 2 Unde praebitam Antonio materiam putem exprobrandi: *ne rectis quidem oculis eum aspicere potuisse instructam aciem, verum supinum, caelum intuentem, stupidum cubuisse nec prius surrexisse ac militibus in conspectum venisse*

quam a M. Agrippa fugatae sint hostium na-
ves. Alii dictum factumque eius criminantur quasi
classibus tempestate perditis exclamaverit etiam in-
vito Neptuno victoriam se adepturum ac die
circensium proximo sollemni pompae simulacrum dei
detraxerit. Nec temere plura ac maiora pericula ullo 3
alio bello adiit. Traiecto in Siciliam exercitu, cum par-
tem reliquam copiarum continenti repeteret, oppressus
ex inproviso a Demochare et Apollophane praefectis
Pompei uno demum navigio aegerrime effugit. Iterum
cum praeter Locros Regium pedibus iret et prospectis
biremibus Pompeianis terram legentibus suas ratus de-
scendisset ad litus, paene exceptus est. Tunc etiam
per devios tramites refugientem servus Aemili Pauli
comitis eius, dolens proscriptum olim ab eo patrem
Paulum et quasi occasione ultionis oblata, interficere
conatus est.

Post Pompei fugam collegarum alterum M. Lepidum, 4
quem ex Africa in auxilium evocarat, superbientem
viginti legionum fiducia summasque sibi partes terrore
et minis vindicantem spoliavit exercitu supplicemque
concessa vita Cerceios in perpetuum relegavit.

M. Antoni societatem semper dubiam et incertam 17
reconciliationibusque variis male focilatam abrupit tan-
dem, et quo magis degenerasse eum a civili more appro-
baret, testamentum quod is Romae etiam de Cleopatra
liberis inter heredes nuncupatis reliquerat aperiundum
recitandumque pro contione curavit. Remisit tamen 2
hosti iudicato necessitudines amicosque omnes atque
inter alios C. Sosium et T. Domitium tunc adhuc con-
sules. Bononiensibus quoque publice, quod in Antonio-
rum clientela antiquitus erant, gratiam fecit coniurandi

cum tota Italia pro partibus suis. Nec multo post navali proelio apud Actium vicit in serum dimicatione
3 protracta, ut in nave victor pernoctaverit. Ab Actio cum Samum in hiberna se recepisset, turbatus nuntiis de seditione praemia et missionem poscentium quos ex omni numero confecta victoria Brundisium praemiserat, repetita Italia tempestate in traiectu bis conflictatus, primo inter promunturia Peloponnensi atque Aetoliae, rursus circa montes Ceraunios utrubique parte Liburnicarum demersa, simul eius in qua vehebatur fusis armamentis et gubernaculo diffracto; nec amplius quam septem et viginti dies, donec †ad desideria militum ordinarentur, Brundisii commoratus, Asiae Syriaeque circuitu Aegyptum petit obsessaque Alexandrea, quo Antonius cum Cleopatra confugerat, brevi potitus est.
4 Et Antonium quidem seras condiciones pacis temptantem ad mortem adegit viditque mortuum. Cleopatrae, quam servatam triumpho magno opere cupiebat, etiam Psyllos admovit qui venenum ac virus exugerent, quod perisse morsu aspidis putabatur. Ambobus communem sepulturae honorem tribuit ac tumulum ab ipsis inco-
5 hatum perfici iussit. Antonium iuvenem, maiorem de duobus Fulvia genitis, simulacro Divi Iuli, ad quod post multas et irritas preces confugerat, abreptum interemit. Item Caesarionem, quem ex Caesare patre Cleopatra concepisse praedicabat, retractum e fuga supplicio adfecit. Reliquos Antoni reginaeque communes liberos non secus ac necessitudine iunctos sibi et conservavit et mox pro condicione cuiusque sustinuit ac fovit.

18 Per idem tempus conditorium et corpus Magni Alexandri cum prolatum e penetrali subiecisset oculis, corona aurea imposita ac floribus aspersis veneratus est consul-

tusque num et Ptolemaeum inspicere vellet, *regem se
voluisse* ait *videre, non mortuos*. Aegyptum in 2
provinciae formam redactam ut feraciorem habiliorem-
que annonae urbicae redderet, fossas omnis in quas Nilus
exaestuat, oblimatas longa vetustate, militari opere deter-
sit. Quoque Actiacae victoriae memoria celebratior et in
posterum esset, urbem Nicopolim apud Actium condidit
ludosque illic quinquennales constituit et ampliato vetere
Apollinis templo locum castrorum quibus fuerat usus, ex-
ornatum navalibus spoliis, Neptuno ac Marti consecravit.

Tumultus posthac et rerum novarum initia coniura- 19
tionesque complures, prius quam invalescerent indicio
detectas, compressit alias alio tempore: Lepidi iuvenis,
deinde Varronis Murenae et Fanni Caepionis, mox M.
Egnati, exin Plauti Rufi Lucique Pauli progeneri sui, ac
praeter has L. Audasi falsarum tabularum rei ac neque
aetate neque corpore integri, item Asini Epicadi ex
gente Parthina ibridae, ad extremum Telephi, mulieris
servi nomenculatoris. Nam ne ultimae quidem sortis
hominum conspiratione et periculo caruit. Audasius 2
atque Epicadus Iuliam filiam et Agrippam nepotem ex
insulis quibus continebantur rapere ad exercitus, Tele-
phus quasi debita sibi fato dominatione et ipsum et
senatum adgredi destinarant. Quin etiam quondam
iuxta cubiculum eius lixa quidam ex Illyrico exercitu,
ianitoribus deceptis, noctu deprehensus est cultro vena-
torio cinctus, imposne mentis an simulata dementia
incertum; nihil enim exprimi quaestione potuit.

Externa bella duo omnino per se gessit, Delmaticum 20
adulescens adhuc et Antonio devicto Cantabricum. Del-
matico etiam vulnera excepit, una acie dextrum genu
lapide ictus, altera et crus et utrumque brachium ruina

pontis consauciatus. Reliqua per legatos administravit,
ut tamen quibusdam Pannonicis atque Germanicis aut
interveniret aut non longe abesset, Ravennam vel Medio-
lanium vel Aquileiam usque ab urbe progrediens.

21 Domuit autem partim ductu partim auspiciis suis
Cantabriam, Aquitaniam, Pannoniam, Delmatiam cum
Illyrico omni, item Raetiam et Vindelicos ac Salassos,
gentes Inalpinas. Coercuit et Dacorum incursiones, tribus
eorum ducibus cum magna copia caesis, Germanosque
ultra Albim fluvium summovit, ex quibus Suebos et Si-
gambros dedentis se traduxit in Galliam atque in proxi-
mis Rheno agris conlocavit. Alias item nationes male
2 quietas ad obsequium redegit. Nec ulli genti sine iustis
et necessariis causis bellum intulit tantumque afuit a
cupiditate quoquo modo imperium vel bellicam gloriam
augendi ut quorundam barbarorum principes in aede
Martis Ultoris iurare coegerit mansuros se in fide ac pace
quam peterent, a quibusdam vero novum genus obsidum,
feminas, exigere temptaverit, quod neglegere marum pig-
nera sentiebat; et tamen potestatem semper omnibus
fecit quotiens vellent obsides recipiendi. Neque aut
crebrius aut perfidiosius rebellantis graviore umquam
ultus est poena quam ut captivos sub lege venundaret,
ne in vicina regione servirent neve intra tricensimum an-
3 num liberarentur. Qua virtutis moderationisque fama
Indos etiam ac Scythas auditu modo cognitos pellexit ad
amicitiam suam populique Rom. ultro per legatos peten-
dam. Parthi quoque et Armeniam vindicanti facile ces-
serunt et signa militaria quae M. Crasso et M. Antonio
ademerant reposcenti reddiderunt obsidesque insuper
optulerunt; denique, pluribus quondam de regno concer-
tantibus, non nisi ab ipso electum probaverunt.

Ianum Quirinum semel atque iterum a condita urbe 22
ante memoriam suam clausum in multo breviore temporis
spatio terra marique pace parta ter clusit. Bis ovans in-
gressus est urbem, post Philippense et rursus post Sicu-
lum bellum. Curulis triumphos tris egit, Delmaticum,
Actiacum, Alexandrinum, continuo triduo omnes.

Graves ignominias cladesque duas omnino nec alibi 23
quam in Germania accepit, Lollianam et Varianam, sed
Lollianam maioris infamiae quam detrimenti, Varianam
paene exitiabilem tribus legionibus cum duce legatisque
et auxiliis omnibus caesis. Hac nuntiata excubias per
urbem indixit ne quis tumultus existeret, et praesidibus
provinciarum propagavit imperium ut a peritis et as-
suetis socii continerentur. Vovit et magnos ludos Iovi 2
Optimo Maximo, si res p. in meliorem statum vertisset:
quod factum Cimbrico Marsicoque bello erat. Adeo
denique consternatum ferunt ut per continuos menses
barba capilloque summisso caput interdum foribus illi-
deret vociferans: Quintili Vare, legiones redde!
diemque cladis quotannis maestum habuerit ac lugubrem.

In re militari et commutavit multa et instituit atque 24
etiam ad antiquum morem nonnulla revocavit. Discipli-
nam severissime rexit. Ne legatorum quidem cuiquam,
nisi gravate hibernisque demum mensibus, permisit uxo-
rem intervisere. Equitem R., quod duobus filiis adulescen-
tibus causa detrectandi sacramenti pollices amputasset,
ipsum bonaque subiecit hastae; quem tamen, quod in-
minere emptioni publicanos videbat, liberto suo addixit
ut relegatum in agros pro libero esse sineret. Decimam 2
legionem contumacius parentem cum ignominia totam
dimisit, item alias immodeste missionem postulantes
citra commoda emeritorum praemiorum exauctoravit.

Cohortes, si quae cessissent loco, decimatas hordeo pavit. Centuriones statione deserta, itidem ut manipulares, capitali animadversione puniit, pro cetero delictorum genere variis ignominis adfecit, ut stare per totum diem iuberet ante praetorium, interdum tunicatos discinctosque, nonnumquam cum decempedis vel etiam caespitem portantes.

25 Neque post bella civilia aut in contione aut per edictum ullos militum commilitones appellabat, sed milites, ac ne a filiis quidem aut privignis suis imperio praeditis aliter appellari passus est, ambitiosius id existimans quam aut ratio militaris aut temporum quies aut sua domusque
2 suae maiestas postularet. Libertino milite, praeterquam Romae incendiorum causa et si tumultus in graviore annona metueretur, bis usus est: semel ad praesidium coloniarum Illyricum contingentium, iterum ad tutelam ripae Rheni fluminis; eosque, servos adhuc viris feminisque pecuniosioribus indictos ac sine mora manumissos, sub priore vexillo habuit, neque aut commixtos cum ingenuis aut eodem modo armatos.

3 Dona militaria aliquanto facilius phaleras et torques, quicquid auro argentoque constaret, quam vallares ac murales coronas, quae honore praecellerent, dabat; has quam parcissime et sine ambitione ac saepe etiam caligatis tribuit. M. Agrippam in Sicilia post navalem victoriam caeruleo vexillo donavit. Solos triumphales, quamquam et socios expeditionum et participes victoriarum suarum, numquam donis impertiendos putavit quod ipsi quoque ius habuissent tribuendi ea quibus vellent.
4 Nihil autem minus perfecto duci quam festinationem temeritatemque convenire arbitrabatur. Crebro itaque illa iactabat: Σπεῦδε βραδέως·

ἀσφαλὴς γάρ ἐστ' ἀμείνων ἢ θρασὺς στρατηλάτης,

et: *sat celeriter fieri quidquid fiat satis bene.* Proelium quidem aut bellum suscipiendum omnino negabat, nisi cum maior emolumenti spes quam damni metus ostenderetur. Nam minima commoda non minimo sectantis discrimine similes aiebat esse aureo hamo piscantibus, cuius abrupti damnum nulla captura pensari posset.

Magistratus atque honores et ante tempus et quosdam 26
novi generis perpetuosque cepit. Consulatum vicesimo aetatis anno invasit admotis hostiliter ad urbem legionibus missisque qui sibi nomine exercitus deposcerent; cum quidem cunctante senatu Cornelius centurio, princeps legationis, reiecto sagulo ostendens gladii capulum non dubitasset in curia dicere: *Hic faciet, si vos non feceritis.* Secundum consulatum post novem annos, 2
tertium anno interiecto gessit, sequentis usque ad undecimum continuavit, multisque mox cum deferrentur recusatis duodecimum magno, id est septemdecim annorum, intervallo et rursus tertium decimum biennio post ultro petit, ut C. et Lucium filios amplissimo praeditus magistratu suo quemque tirocinio deduceret in forum. Quin- 3
que medios consulatus a sexto ad decimum annuos gessit, ceteros aut novem aut sex aut quattuor aut tribus mensibus, secundum vero paucissimis horis. Nam die Kal. Ian. cum mane pro aede Capitolini Iovis paululum curuli sella praesedisset, honore abiit suffecto alio in locum suum. Nec omnes Romae, sed quartum consulatum in Asia, quintum in insula Samo, octavum et nonum Tarracone init.

Triumviratum rei p. constituendae per decem annos ad- 27
ministravit; in quo restitit quidem aliquamdiu collegis ne qua fieret proscriptio, sed inceptam utroque acerbius

exercuit. Namque illis in multorum saepe personam per
gratiam et preces exorabilibus solus magno opere conten-
dit ne cui parceretur, proscripsitque etiam C. Toranium
tutorem suum, eundem collegam patris sui Octavi in
2 aedilitate. Iulius Saturninus hoc amplius tradit, cum
peracta proscriptione M. Lepidus in senatu excusasset
praeterita et spem clementiae in posterum fecisset, quo-
niam satis poenarum exactum esset, hunc e diverso pro-
fessum, ita modum se proscribendi statuisse,
ut omnia sibi reliquerit libera. In cuius tamen
pertinaciae paenitentiam postea T. Vinium Philopoe-
menem, quod patronum suum proscriptum celasse olim
3 diceretur, equestri dignitate honoravit. In eadem hac
potestate multiplici flagravit invidia. Nam et Pinárium
equitem R., cum contionante se, admissa turba paganorum,
apud milites subscribere quaedam animadvertisset, curio-
sum ac speculatorem ratus coram confodi imperavit; et
Tedium Afrum consulem designatum, quia factum quod-
dam suum maligno sermone carpsisset, tantis conterruit
4 minis ut is se praecipitaverit; et Quintum Gallium prae-
torem, in officio salutationis tabellas duplices veste tectas
tenentem, suspicatus gladium occulere nec quicquam
statim, ne aliud inveniretur, ausus inquirere, paulo post
per centuriones et milites raptum e tribunali servilem in
modum torsit ac fatentem nihil iussit occidi, prius oculis
eius sua manu effossis; quem tamen scribit conloquio
petito insidiatum sibi coniectumque a se in custodiam,
deinde urbe interdicta dimissum naufragio vel latronum
5 insidiis perisse. Tribuniciam potestatem perpetuam re-
cepit, in qua semel atque iterum per singula lustra colle-
gam sibi cooptavit. Recepit et morum legumque regi-
men aeque perpetuum, quo iure, quamquam sine censurae

honore, censum tamen populi ter egit, primum ac tertium
cum collega, medium solus.

De reddenda re p. bis cogitavit: primum post oppres- 28
sum statim Antonium, memor obiectum sibi ab eo saepius,
quasi per ipsum staret ne redderetur; ac rursus taedio
diuturnae valitudinis, cum etiam magistratibus ac senatu
domum accitis rationarium imperii tradidit. Sed repu-
tans et se privatum non sine periculo fore et illam plu-
rium arbitrio temere committi, in retinenda perseveravit,
dubium eventu meliore an voluntate. Quam voluntatem, 2
cum prae se identidem ferret, quodam etiam edicto his
verbis testatus est: Ita mihi salvam ac sospitem
rem p. sistere in sua sede liceat atque eius
rei fructum percipere quem peto, ut optimi
status auctor dicar et moriens ut feram me-
cum spem, mansura in vestigio suo funda-
menta rei p. quae iecero. Fecitque ipse se compo-
tem voti, nisus omni modo ne quem novi status paeniteret.
Urbem neque pro maiestate imperii ornatam et inunda- 3
tionibus incendiisque obnoxiam excoluit adeo ut iure sit
gloriatus marmoream se relinquere, quam
latericiam accepisset. Tutam vero, quantum pro-
videri humana ratione potuit, etiam in posterum praestitit.

Publica opera plurima extruxit, e quibus vel praecipua: 29
forum cum aede Martis Ultoris, templum Apollinis in
Palatio, aedem Tonantis Iovis in Capitolio. Fori ex-
truendi causa fuit hominum et iudiciorum multitudo,
quae videbatur non sufficientibus duobus etiam tertio
indigere; itaque festinatius necdum perfecta Martis aede
publicatum est cautumque ut separatim in eo publica
iudicia et sortitiones iudicum fierent. Aedem Martis 2
bello Philippensi pro ultione paterna suscepto voverat;

sanxit ergo ut de bellis triumphisque hic consuleretur senatus, provincias cum imperio petituri hinc deducerentur, quique victores redissent huc insignia triumphorum
3 conferrent. Templum Apollinis in ea parte Palatinae domus excitavit quam fulmine ictam desiderari a deo haruspices pronuntiarant; addidit porticus cum bibliotheca Latina Graecaque, quo loco iam senior saepe etiam senatum habuit decuriasque iudicum recognovit. Tonanti Iovi aedem consecravit liberatus periculo cum expeditione Cantabrica per nocturnum iter lecticam eius fulgur praestrinxisset servumque praelucentem exani-
4 masset. Quaedam etiam opera sub nomine alieno, nepotum scilicet et uxoris sororisque, fecit, ut porticum basilicamque Gai et Luci, item porticus Liviae et Octaviae theatrumque Marcelli. Sed et ceteros principes viros saepe hortatus est ut pro facultate quisque monimentis
5 vel novis vel refectis et excultis urbem adornarent. Multaque a multis tunc extructa sunt, sicut a Marcio Philippo aedes Herculis Musarum, a L. Cornificio aedes Dianae, ab Asinio Pollione atrium Libertatis, a Munatio Planco aedes Saturni, a Cornelio Balbo theatrum, a Statilio Tauro amphitheatrum, a M. vero Agrippa complura et egregia.

30 Spatium urbis in regiones vicosque divisit instituitque ut illas annui magistratus sortito tuerentur, hos magistri e plebe cuiusque viciniae lecti. Adversus incendia excubias nocturnas vigilesque commentus est; ad coercendas inundationes alveum Tiberis laxavit ac repurgavit completum olim ruderibus et aedificiorum prolationibus coartatum. Quo autem facilius undique urbs adiretur, desumpta sibi Flaminia via Arimino tenus munienda reliquas triumphalibus viris ex manubiali pecunia sternendas distribuit.

Aedes sacras vetustate conlapsas aut incendio ab- 2
sumptas refecit easque et ceteras opulentissimis donis
adornavit, ut qui in cellam Capitolini Iovis sedecim milia
pondo auri gemmasque ac margaritas quingenties sester-
tium una donatione contulerit.

Postquam vero pontificatum maximum, quem numquam 31
vivo Lepido auferre sustinuerat, mortuo demum suscepit,
quidquid fatidicorum librorum Graeci Latinique generis
nullis vel parum idoneis auctoribus vulgo ferebatur,
supra duo milia contracta undique, cremavit ac solos re-
tinuit Sibyllinos, hos quoque dilectu habito; condidit-
que duobus forulis auratis sub Palatini Apollinis basi.
Annum a Divo Iulio ordinatum, sed postea neglegentia 2
conturbatum atque confusum, rursus ad pristinam ratio-
nem redegit; in cuius ordinatione Sextilem mensem e suo
cognomine nuncupavit magis quam Septembrem quo erat
natus, quod hoc sibi et primus consulatus et insignes
victoriae optigissent. Sacerdotum et numerum et digni- 3
tatem sed et commoda auxit, praecipue Vestalium virgi-
num. Cumque in demortuae locum aliam capi oporteret
ambirentque multi ne filias in sortem darent, adiuravit
si cuiusquam neptium suarum competeret aetas, obla-
turum se fuisse eam. Nonnulla etiam ex antiquis caeri- 4
monis paulatim abolita restituit, ut Salutis augurium,
Diale flamonium, sacrum Lupercale, ludos Saeculares et
Compitalicios. Lupercalibus vetuit currere inberbes,
item Saecularibus ludis iuvenes utriusque sexus prohi-
buit ullum nocturnum spectaculum frequentare nisi cum
aliquo maiore natu propinquorum. Compitales Lares
ornari bis anno instituit vernis floribus et aestivis.

Proximum a dis immortalibus honorem memoriae 5
ducum praestitit qui imperium p. R. ex minimo maxi-

mum reddidissent. Itaque et opera cuiusque manentibus titulis restituit et statuas omnium triumphali effigie in utraque fori sui porticu dedicavit, professus et edicto: commentum id se, ut ad illorum . . . velut ad exemplar et ipse, dum viveret, et insequentium aetatium principes exigerentur a civibus. Pompei quoque statuam contra theatri eius regiam marmoreo Iano superposuit, translatam e curia in qua C. Caesar fuerat occisus.

32 Pleraque pessimi exempli in perniciem publicam aut ex consuetudine licentiaque bellorum civilium duraverant aut per pacem etiam extiterant. Nam et grassatorum plurimi palam se ferebant succincti ferro, quasi tuendi sui causa, et rapti per agros viatores sine discrimine liberi servique ergastulis possessorum supprimebantur, et plurimae factiones titulo collegi novi ad nullius non facinoris societatem coibant. Igitur grassaturas dispositis per opportuna loca stationibus inhibuit, ergastula recognovit, collegia praeter antiqua et legitima dissolvit.
2 Tabulas veterum aerari debitorum, vel praecipuam calumniandi materiam, exussit; loca in urbe publica iuris ambigui possessoribus adiudicavit; diuturnorum reorum et ex quorum sordibus nihil aliud quam voluptas inimicis quaereretur nomina abolevit, condicione proposita ut si quem quis repetere vellet, par periculum poenae subiret. Ne quod autem maleficium negotiumve inpunitate vel mora elaberetur, triginta amplius dies, qui honoraris
3 ludis occupabantur, actui rerum accommodavit. Ad tris iudicum decurias quartam addidit ex inferiore censu, quae ducenariorum vocaretur iudicaretque de levioribus summis. Iudices a tricensimo aetatis anno adlegit, id est quinquennio maturius quam solebant. Ac plerisque

iudicandi munus detractantibus vix concessit ut singulis
decuriis per vices annua vacatio esset et ut solitae agi
Novembri ac Decembri mense res omitterentur.

Ipse ius dixit assidue et in noctem nonnumquam; si 33
parum corpore valeret, lectica pro tribunali collocata
vel etiam domi cubans. Dixit autem ius non diligentia
modo summa sed et lenitate, siquidem manifesti parri-
cidii reum, ne culleo insueretur, quod non nisi confessi
adficiuntur hac poena, ita fertur interrogasse: *Certe
patrem tuum non occidisti?* Et cum de falso 2
testamento ageretur omnesque signatores lege Cornelia
tenerentur, non tantum duas tabellas, damnatoriam et
absolutoriam, simul cognoscentibus dedit, sed tertiam
quoque, qua ignosceretur iis quos fraude ad signandum
vel errore inductos constitisset. Appellationes quotan- 3
nis urbanorum quidem litigatorum praetori delegabat
urbano, at provincialium consularibus viris, quos singulos
cuiusque provinciae negotiis praeposuisset.

Leges retractavit et quasdam ex integro sanxit, ut 34
sumptuariam et de adulteriis et de pudicitia, de ambitu,
de maritandis ordinibus. Hanc cum aliquanto severius
quam ceteras emendasset, prae tumultu recusantium
perferre non potuit, nisi adempta demum lenitave parte
poenarum et vacatione trienni data auctisque praemiis.
Sic quoque abolitionem eius publico spectaculo pertinaci- 2
ter postulante equite, accitos Germanici liberos receptos-
que partim ad se partim in patris gremium ostentavit,
manu vultuque significans ne gravarentur imitari iuvenis
exemplum. Cumque etiam inmaturitate sponsarum et
matrimoniorum crebra mutatione vim legis eludi sen-
tiret, tempus sponsas habendi coartavit, divortiis modum
imposuit.

35 Senatorum affluentem numerum deformi et incondita
turba — erant enim super mille, et quidam indignissimi
et post necem Caesaris per gratiam et praemium adlecti,
quos Orcivos vulgus vocabat — ad modum pristinum et
splendorem redegit duabus lectionibus: prima ipsorum
arbitratu, quo vir virum legit, secunda suo et Agrippae;
quo tempore existimatur lorica sub veste munitus ferro-
que cinctus praesedisse decem valentissimis senatorii
2 ordinis amicis sellam suam circumstantibus. Cordus
Cremutius scribit ne admissum quidem tunc quemquam
senatorum nisi solum et praetemptato sinu. Quosdam
ad excusandi se verecundiam compulit servavitque etiam
excusantibus insigne vestis et spectandi in orchestra
3 epulandique publice ius. Quo autem lecti probatique
et religiosius et minore molestia senatoria munera fun-
gerentur, sanxit ut prius quam consideret quisque ture
ac mero supplicaret apud aram eius dei in cuius templo
coiretur, et ne plus quam bis in mense legitimus senatus
ageretur, Kalendis et Idibus, neve Septembri Octobrive
mense ullos adesse alios necesse esset quam sorte ductos,
per quorum numerum decreta confici possent; sibique
instituit consilia sortiri semenstria, cum quibus de nego-
tiis ad frequentem senatum referendis ante tractaret.
4 Sententias de maiore negotio non more atque ordine sed
prout libuisset perrogabat, ut perinde quisque animum
intenderet ac si censendum magis quam adsentiendum
esset.

36 Auctor et aliarum rerum fuit, in quis: ne acta senatus
publicarentur, ne magistratus deposito honore statim in
provincias mitterentur, ut proconsulibus ad mulos et
tabernacula, quae publice locari solebant, certa pecunia
constitueretur, ut cura aerari a quaestoribus urbanis

ad praetorios praetoresve transiret, ut centumviralem hastam quam quaesturam functi consuerant cogere decemviri cogerent.

Quoque plures partem administrandae rei p. caperent, 37
nova officia excogitavit: curam operum publicorum, viarum, aquarum, alvei Tiberis, frumenti populo dividundi, praefecturam urbis, triumviratum legendi senatus et alterum recognoscendi turmas equitum, quotiensque opus esset. Censores creari desitos longo intervallo creavit. Numerum praetorum auxit. Exegit etiam ut, quotiens consulatus sibi daretur, binos pro singulis collegas haberet, nec optinuit, reclamantibus cunctis satis maiestatem eius imminui quod honorem eum non solus sed cum altero gereret.

Nec parcior in bellica virtute honoranda, super triginta 38
ducibus iustos triumphos et aliquanto pluribus triumphalia ornamenta decernenda curavit.

Liberis senatorum, quo celerius rei p. assuescerent, 2
protinus a virili toga latum clavum induere et curiae interesse permisit militiamque auspicantibus non tribunatum modo legionum, sed et praefecturas alarum dedit; ac ne qui expers castrorum esset, binos plerumque laticlavios praeposuit singulis alis.

Equitum turmas frequenter recognovit, post longam 3
intercapedinem reducto more travectionis. Sed neque detrahi quemquam in travehendo ab accusatore passus est, quod fieri solebat, et senio vel aliqua corporis labe insignibus permisit, praemisso in ordine equo, ad respondendum quotiens citarentur pedibus venire; mox reddendi equi gratiam fecit eis qui maiores annorum quinque et triginta retinere eum nollent.

Impetratisque a senatu decem adiutoribus, unum quem- 39

que equitum rationem vitae reddere coegit atque in exprobratis alios poena, alios ignominia notavit, plures admonitione, sed varia. Lenissimum genus admonitionis fuit traditio coram pugillarium, quos taciti et ibidem statim legerent; notavitque aliquos quod pecunias levioribus usuris mutuati graviore faenore collocassent.

40 Ac comitiis tribuniciis si deessent candidati senatores, ex equitibus R. creavit, ita ut potestate transacta in utro vellent ordine manerent. Cum autem plerique equitum attrito bellis civilibus patrimonio spectare ludos e quattuordecim non auderent metu poenae theatralis, pronuntiavit non teneri ea quibus ipsis parentibusve equester census umquam fuisset.

2 Populi recensum vicatim egit, ac ne plebs frumentationum causa frequentius ab negotiis avocaretur, ter in annum quaternum mensium tesseras dare destinavit; sed desideranti consuetudinem veterem concessit rursus, ut sui cuiusque mensis acciperet. Comitiorum quoque pristinum ius reduxit ac multiplici poena coercito ambitu, Fabianis et Scaptiensibus tribulibus suis die comitiorum, ne quid a quoquam candidato desiderarent, singula milia nummum a se dividebat.

3 Magni praeterea existimans sincerum atque ab omni colluvione peregrini ac servilis sanguinis incorruptum servare populum, et civitates Romanas parcissime dedit et manumittendi modum terminavit. Tiberio pro cliente Graeco petenti rescripsit non aliter se daturum quam si praesens sibi persuasisset quam iustas petendi causas haberet; et Liviae pro quodam tributario Gallo roganti civitatem negavit, immunitatem optulit, affirmans facilius se passurum fisco detrahi aliquid quam civitatis Ro-
4 manae vulgari honorem. Servos non contentus multis

difficultatibus a libertate et multo pluribus a libertate iusta removisse, cum et de numero et de condicione ac differentia eorum qui manumitterentur curiose cavisset, hoc quoque adiecit, ne vinctus umquam tortusve quis ullo libertatis genere civitatem adipisceretur.

Etiam habitum vestitumque pristinum reducere stu- 5
duit, ac visa quondam pro contione pullatorum turba, indignabundus et clamitans: En

> R o m a n o s, r e r u m d o m i n o s, g e n t e m q u e t o g a t a m !

negotium aedilibus dedit, ne quem posthac paterentur in foro circave nisi positis lacernis togatum consistere.

Liberalitatem omnibus ordinibus per occasiones fre- 41
quenter exhibuit. Nam et invecta urbi Alexandrino triumpho regia gaza, tantam copiam nummariae rei effecit ut faenore deminuto plurimum agrorum pretiis accesserit, et postea, quotiens ex damnatorum bonis pecunia superflueret, usum eius gratuitum iis qui cavere in duplum possent ad certum tempus indulsit. Senatorum censum ampliavit ac pro octingentorum milium summa duodecies sestertium taxavit supplevitque non habenti-
bus. Congiaria populo frequenter dedit, sed diversae 2
fere summae: modo quadringenos, modo trecenos, nonnumquam ducenos quinquagenosque nummos; ac ne minores quidem pueros praeteriit, quamvis non nisi ab undecimo aetatis anno accipere consuessent. Frumentum quoque in annonae difficultatibus saepe levissimo, interdum nullo pretio viritim admensus est tesserasque nummarias duplicavit.

Sed ut salubrem magis quam ambitiosum principem 42
scires, querentem de inopia et caritate vini populum

severissima coercuit voce: satis provisum a ge-
nero suo Agrippa, perductis pluribus aquis,
2 ne homines sitirent. Eidem populo promissum
quidem congiarium reposcenti bonae se fidei esse
respondit; non promissum autem flagitanti turpitudinem
et impudentiam edicto exprobravit affirmavitque non
daturum se quamvis dare destinaret. Nec
minore gravitate atque constantia, cum proposito con-
giario multos manumissos insertosque civium numero
comperisset, negavit accepturos quibus promissum non
esset, ceterisque minus quam promiserat dedit, ut de-
3 stinata summa sufficeret. Magna vero quondam sterilitate
ac difficili remedio cum venalicias et lanistarum familias
peregrinosque omnes exceptis medicis et praeceptoribus
partimque servitiorum urbe expulisset, ut tandem annona
convaluit, impetum se cepisse scribit frumenta-
tiones publicas in perpetuum abolendi, quod
earum fiducia cultura agrorum cessaret;
neque tamen perseverasse, quia certum ha-
beret posse per ambitionem quandoque re-
stitui. Atque ita posthac rem temperavit ut non
minorem aratorum ac negotiantium quam populi rati-
onem deduceret.

43 Spectaculorum et assiduitate et varietate et magni-
ficentia omnes antecessit. Fecisse se ludos ait
suo nomine quater, pro aliis magistratibus,
qui aut abessent aut non sufficerent, ter et
vicies. Fecitque nonnumquam etiam vicatim ac pluri-
bus scaenis per omnium linguarum histriones . . . non
in foro modo, nec in amphitheatro, sed et in Circo et in
Saeptis, et aliquando nihil praeter venationem edidit;
athletas quoque, extructis in campo Martio sedilibus

ligneis; item navale proelium circa Tiberim cavato solo,
in quo nunc Caesarum nemus est. Quibus diebus cu-
stodes in urbe disposuit ne raritate remanentium grassa-
toribus obnoxia esset. In Circo aurigas cursoresque et 2
confectores ferarum, et nonnumquam ex nobilissima
iuventute, produxit. Sed et Troiae lusum edidit fre-
quentissime maiorum minorumque puerorum, prisci
decorique moris existimans clarae stirpis indolem sic
notescere. In hoc ludicro Nonium Asprenatem lapsu
debilitatum aureo torque donavit passusque est ipsum
posterosque Torquati ferre cognomen. Mox finem fecit
talia edendi, Asinio Pollione oratore graviter invidiose-
que in curia questo Aesernini nepotis sui casum, qui et
ipse crus fregerat.

Ad scaenicas quoque et gladiatorias operas et equi- 3
tibus Romanis aliquando usus est, verum prius quam
senatus consulto interdiceretur. Postea nihil sane prae-
terquam adulescentulum Lycium honeste natum exhi-
buit, tantum ut ostenderet, quod erat bipedali minor,
librarum septemdecim ac vocis immensae. Quodam 4
autem muneris die Parthorum obsides tunc primum
missos per mediam harenam ad spectaculum induxit
superque se subsellio secundo collocavit. Solebat etiam
citra spectaculorum dies, si quando quid invisitatum
dignumque cognitu advectum esset, id extra ordinem
quolibet loco publicare, ut rhinocerotem apud Saepta,
tigrim in scaena, anguem quinquaginta cubitorum pro
comitio.

Accidit votivis circensibus ut correptus valitudine 5
lectica cubans tensas deduceret; rursus, commissione
ludorum quibus theatrum Marcelli dedicabat, evenit
ut laxatis sellae curulis compagibus caderet supinus.

Nepotum quoque suorum munere cum consternatum ruinae metu populum retinere et confirmare nullo modo posset, transiit e loco suo atque in ea parte consedit quae suspecta maxime erat.

44 Spectandi confusissimum ac solutissimum morem correxit ordinavitque, motus iniuria senatoris quem Puteolis per celeberrimos ludos consessu frequenti nemo receperat. Facto igitur decreto patrum ut, quotiens quid spectaculi usquam publice ederetur, primus subselliorum ordo vacaret senatoribus, Romae legatos liberarum sociarumque gentium vetuit in orchestra sedere, cum quosdam etiam libertini generis mitti deprendisset.
2 Militem secrevit a populo. Maritis e plebe proprios ordines assignavit, praetextatis cuneum suum, et proximum paedagogis, sanxitque ne quis pullatorum media cavea sederet. Feminis ne gladiatores quidem, quos promiscue spectari sollemne olim erat, nisi ex superiore
3 loco spectare concessit. Solis virginibus Vestalibus locum in theatro separatim et contra praetoris tribunal dedit. Athletarum vero spectaculo muliebre secus omne adeo summovit ut pontificalibus ludis pugilum par postulatum distulerit in insequentis diei matutinum tempus edixeritque mulieres ante horam quintam venire in theatrum non placere.

45 Ipse circenses ex amicorum fere libertorumque cenaculis spectabat, interdum ex pulvinari et quidem cum coniuge ac liberis sedens. Spectaculo plurimas horas, aliquando totos dies aberat, petita venia commendatisque qui suam vicem praesidendo fungerentur. Verum quotiens adesset, nihil praeterea agebat, seu vitandi rumoris causa, quo patrem Caesarem vulgo reprehensum commemorabat, quod inter spectandum epistulis

libellisque legendis aut rescribendis vacaret, seu studio
spectandi ac voluptate, qua teneri se neque dissimulavit
umquam et saepe ingenue professus est. Itaque corol- 2
laria et praemia in alienis quoque muneribus ac ludis
et crebra et grandia de suo offerebat nullique Graeco
certamini interfuit quo non pro merito quemque cer-
tantium honorarit. Spectavit autem studiosissime pugi-
les et maxime Latinos, non legitimos atque ordinarios
modo, quos etiam committere cum Graecis solebat, sed
et catervarios oppidanos inter angustias vicorum pug-
nantis temere ac sine arte. Universum denique genus 3
operas aliquas publico spectaculo praebentium etiam
cura sua dignatus est: athletis et conservavit privilegia
et ampliavit, gladiatores sine missione edi prohibuit,
coercitionem in histriones magistratibus omni tempore
et loco lege vetere permissam ademit praeterquam ludis
et scaena. Nec tamen eo minus aut xysticorum certa- 4
tiones aut gladiatorum pugnas severissime semper exe-
git. Nam histrionum licentiam adeo compescuit ut
Stephanionem togatarium, cui in puerilem habitum cir-
cumtonsam matronam ministrasse compererat, per trina
theatra virgis caesum relegaverit, Hylan pantomimum,
querente praetore, in atrio domus suae nemine excluso
flagellis verberarit et Pyladen urbe atque Italia sum-
moverit, quod spectatorem, a quo exibilabatur, demon-
strasset digito conspicuumque fecisset.

Ad hunc modum urbe urbanisque rebus administratis, 46
Italiam duodetriginta coloniarum numero deductarum
a se frequentavit operibusque ac vectigalibus publicis
plurifariam instruxit, etiam iure ac dignatione urbi
quodam modo pro parte aliqua adaequavit, excogitato
genere suffragiorum, quae de magistratibus urbicis de-

curiones colonici in sua quisque colonia ferrent et sub die comitiorum obsignata Romam mitterent. Ac necubi aut honestorum deficeret copia aut multitudinis suboles, equestrem militiam petentis etiam ex commendatione publica cuiusque oppidi ordinabat, at iis, qui e plebe regiones sibi revisenti filios filiasve approbarent, singula nummorum milia pro singulis dividebat.

47 Provincias validiores et quas annuis magistratuum imperiis regi nec facile nec tutum erat, ipse suscepit, ceteras proconsulibus sortito permisit; et tamen non-nullas commutavit interdum atque ex utroque genere plerasque saepius adiit. Urbium quasdam, foederatas sed ad exitium licentia praecipites, libertate privavit, alias aut aere alieno laborantis levavit aut terrae motu subversas denuo condidit aut merita erga populum R. adlegantes Latinitate vel civitate donavit. Nec est, ut opinor, provincia, excepta dum taxat Africa et Sardinia, quam non adierit. In has fugato Sex. Pompeio traicere ex Sicilia apparantem continuae et immodicae tempestates inhibuerunt nec mox occasio aut causa traiciendi fuit.

48 Regnorum quibus belli iure potitus est, praeter pauca, aut isdem quibus ademerat reddidit aut alienigenis contribuit. Reges socios etiam inter semet ipsos necessitudinibus mutuis iunxit, promptissimus affinitatis cuiusque atque amicitiae conciliator et fautor; nec aliter universos quam membra partisque imperii curae habuit, rectorem quoque solitus apponere aetate parvis aut mente lapsis donec adolescerent aut resipiscerent; ac plurimorum liberos et educavit simul cum suis et instituit.

49 Ex militaribus copiis legiones et auxilia provinciatim distribuit, classem Miseni et alteram Ravennae ad tute-

lam Superi et Inferi maris conlocavit, ceterum numerum partim in urbis partim in sui custodiam adlegit dimissa Calagurritanorum manu, quam usque ad devictum Antonium, item Germanorum, quam usque ad cladem Varianam inter armigeros circa se habuerat. Neque tamen umquam plures quam tres cohortes in urbe esse passus est easque sine castris, reliquas in hiberna et aestiva circa finitima oppida dimittere assuerat. Quidquid 2 autem ubique militum esset, ad certam stipendiorum praemiorumque formulam adstrinxit, definitis pro gradu cuiusque et temporibus militiae et commodis missionum, ne aut aetate aut inopia post missionem sollicitari ad res novas possent. Utque perpetuo ac sine difficultate sumptus ad tuendos eos prosequendosque suppeteret, aerarium militare cum vectigalibus novis constituit.

Et quo celerius ac sub manum adnuntiari cognoscique 3 posset quid in provincia quaque gereretur, iuvenes primo modicis intervallis per militaris vias, dehinc vehicula disposuit. Commodius id visum est, ut qui a loco idem perferunt litteras, interrogari quoque, si quid res exigant, possint.

In diplomatibus libellisque et epistulis signandis initio **50** sphinge usus est, mox imagine Magni Alexandri, novissime sua, Dioscuridis manu scalpta, qua signare insecuti quoque principes perseverarunt. Ad epistulas omnis horarum quoque momenta nec diei modo sed et noctis, quibus datae significarentur, addebat.

Clementiae civilitatisque eius multa et magna docu- **51** menta sunt. Ne enumerem quot et quos diversarum partium venia et incolumitate donatos principem etiam in civitate locum tenere passus sit: Iunium Novatum et Cassium Patavinum e plebe homines alterum pecunia,

alterum levi exilio punire satis habuit, cum ille Agrippae iuvenis nomine asperrimam de se epistulam in vulgus edidisset, hic convivio pleno proclamasset neque votum
2 sibi neque animum deesse confodiendi eum. Quadam vero cognitione, cum Aemilio Aeliano Cordubensi inter cetera crimina vel maxime obiceretur quod male opinari de Caesare soleret, conversus ad accusatorem commotoque similis: *Velim*, inquit, *hoc mihi probes; faciam sciat Aelianus et me linguam habere, plura enim de eo loquar*; nec quicquam ultra aut statim
3 aut postea inquisiit. Tiberio quoque de eadem re, sed violentius apud se per epistulam conquerenti ita rescripsit: *Aetati tuae, mi Tiberi, noli in hac re indulgere et nimium indignari quemquam esse qui de me male loquatur; satis est enim, si hoc habemus ne quis nobis male facere possit.*

52 Templa, quamvis sciret etiam proconsulibus decerni solere, in nulla tamen provincia nisi communi suo Romaeque nomine recepit. Nam in urbe quidem pertinacissime abstinuit hoc honore; atque etiam argenteas statuas olim sibi positas conflavit omnis exque iis aureas cortinas Apollini Palatino dedicavit.

Dictaturam magna vi offerente populo, genu nixus deiecta ab umeris toga nudo pectore deprecatus est.

53 Domini appellationem ut maledictum et obprobrium semper exhorruit. Cum spectante eo ludos pronuntiatum esset in mimo:

O dominum aequum et bonum!

et universi quasi de ipso dictum exultantes comprobassent, et statim manu vultuque indecoras adulationes

repressit et insequenti die gravissimo corripuit edicto; dominumque se posthac appellari ne a liberis quidem aut nepotibus suis vel serio vel ioco passus est atque eius modi blanditias etiam inter ipsos prohibuit. Non 2
temere urbe oppidove ullo egressus aut quoquam ingressus est nisi vespera aut noctu, ne quem officii causa inquietaret. In consulatu pedibus fere, extra consulatum saepe adoperta sella per publicum incessit. Promiscuis salutationibus admittebat et plebem, tanta comitate adeuntium desideria excipiens ut quendam ioco corripuerit quod sic sibi libellum porrigere dubitaret, *quasi elephanto stipem*. Die senatus numquam patres nisi in 3
curia salutavit et quidem sedentis ac nominatim singulos, nullo submonente; etiam discedens eodem modo sedentibus valere dicebat. Officia cum multis mutuo exercuit, nec prius dies cuiusque sollemnes frequentare desiit quam grandior iam natu et in turba quondam sponsaliorum die vexatus. Gallum Cerrinium senatorem minus sibi familiarem, sed captum repente oculis et ob id inedia mori destinantem praesens consolando revocavit ad vitam.

In senatu verba facienti dictum est: *Non intellexi*, 54
et ab alio: *Contra dicerem tibi, si locum haberem*. Interdum ob immodicas disceptantium altercationes e curia per iram se proripienti quidam ingesserunt *licere oportere senatoribus de re p. loqui*. Antistius Labeo senatus lectione, cum vir virum legeret, M. Lepidum hostem olim eius et tunc exulantem legit interrogatusque ab eo an essent alii digniores, *suum quemque iudicium habere* respondit. Nec ideo libertas aut contumacia fraudi cuiquam fuit.

Etiam sparsos de se in curia famosos libellos nec ex- 55
pavit et magna cura redarguit ac ne requisitis quidem

auctoribus id modo censuit, cognoscendum posthac de iis qui libellos aut carmina ad infamiam cuiuspiam sub alieno nomine edant.

56 Iocis quoque quorundam invidiosis aut petulantibus lacessitus, contra dixit edicto. Et tamen ne de inhibenda testamentorum licentia quicquam constitueretur intercessit. Quotiens magistratuum comitiis interesset, tribus cum candidatis suis circuibat supplicabatque more sollemni. Ferebat et ipse suffragium in tribu, ut unus e populo. Testem se in iudiciis et interrogari et refelli
2 aequissimo animo patiebatur. Forum angustius fecit non ausus extorquere possessoribus proximas domos. Numquam filios suos populo commendavit ut non adiceret: Si merebuntur. Eisdem praetextatis adhuc assurrectum ab universis in theatro et a stantibus plausum gravissime questus est. Amicos ita magnos et potentes in civitate esse voluit ut tamen pari iure essent
3 quo ceteri legibusque iudiciariis aeque tenerentur. Cum Asprenas Nonius artius ei iunctus causam veneficii accusante Cassio Severo diceret, consuluit senatum, quid officii sui putaret; cunctari enim se ne si superesset, eripere legibus reum, sin deesset, destituere ac praedamnare amicum existimaretur; et consentientibus universis sedit in subselliis per aliquot horas, verum tacitus et ne laudatione quidem
4 iudiciali data. Affuit et clientibus, sicut Scutario cuidam, evocato quondam suo, qui postulabatur iniuriarum. Unum omnino e reorum numero ac ne eum quidem nisi precibus eripuit, exorato coram iudicibus accusatore, Castricium, per quem de coniuratione Murenae cognoverat.

57 Pro quibus meritis quanto opere dilectus sit facile est aestimare. Omitto senatus consulta, quia possunt videri

vel necessitate expressa vel verecundia. Equites R. natalem eius sponte atque consensu biduo semper celebrarunt. Omnes ordines in lacum Curti quotannis ex voto pro salute eius stipem iaciebant, item Kal. Ian. strenam in Capitolio etiam absenti, ex qua summa pretiosissima deorum simulacra mercatus vicatim dedicabat, ut Apollinem Sandaliarium et Iovem Tragoedum aliaque. In 2
restitutionem Palatinae domus incendio absumptae veterani, decuriae, tribus atque etiam singillatim e cetero genere hominum libentes ac pro facultate quisque pecunias contulerunt, delibante tantum modo eo summarum acervos neque ex quoquam plus denario auferente. Revertentem ex provincia non solum faustis ominibus, sed et modulatis carminibus prosequebantur. Observatum etiam est ne, quotiens introiret urbem, supplicium de quoquam sumeretur.

Patris patriae cognomen universi repentino maximoque 58
consensu detulerunt ei: prima plebs legatione Antium missa; dein, quia non recipiebat, ineunti Romae spectacula frequens et laureata; mox in curia senatus, neque decreto neque adclamatione, sed per Valerium Messalam. Is mandantibus cunctis: Quod bonum, inquit, fau- 2
stumque sit tibi domuique tuae, Caesar Auguste! Sic enim nos perpetuam felicitatem rei p. et laeta huic precari existimamus: senatus te consentiens cum populo R. consalutat patriae patrem. Cui lacrimans respondit Augustus his verbis — ipsa enim, sicut Messalae, posui —: Compos factus votorum meorum, p. c., quid habeo aliud deos immortales precari quam ut hunc consensum vestrum ad ultimum finem vitae mihi perferre liceat?

59 Medico Antonio Musae, cuius opera ex ancipiti morbo convaluerat, statuam aere conlato iuxta signum Aesculapi statuerunt. Nonnulli patrum familiarum testamento caverunt ut ab heredibus suis praelato titulo victumae in Capitolium ducerentur votumque pro se solveretur quod superstitem Augustum reliquissent. Quaedam Italiae civitates diem quo primum ad se venisset initium anni fecerunt. Provinciarum pleraeque super templa et aras ludos quoque quinquennales paene oppidatim constituerunt.

60 Reges amici atque socii et singuli in suo quisque regno Caesareas urbes condiderunt et cuncti simul aedem Iovis Olympii Athenis antiquitus incohatam perficere communi sumptu destinaverunt Genioque eius dedicare; ac saepe regnis relictis non Romae modo sed et provincias peragranti cotidiana officia togati ac sine regio insigni more clientium praestiterunt.

61 Quoniam qualis in imperis ac magistratibus regendaque per terrarum orbem pace belloque re p. fuerit exposui, referam nunc interiorem ac familiarem eius vitam quibusque moribus atque fortuna domi et inter suos egerit a iuventa usque ad supremum vitae diem.

2 Matrem amisit in primo consulatu, sororem Octaviam quinquagensimum et quartum agens aetatis annum. Utrique cum praecipua officia vivae praestitisset, etiam defunctae honores maximos tribuit.

62 Sponsam habuerat adulescens P. Servili Isaurici filiam, sed reconciliatus post primam discordiam Antonio, expostulantibus utriusque militibus ut et necessitudine aliqua iungerentur, privignam eius Claudiam, Fulviae ex P. Clodio filiam, duxit uxorem vixdum nubilem ac simultate cum Fulvia socru orta dimisit intactam adhuc et vir-

ginem. Mox Scriboniam in matrimonium accepit nup- 2
tam ante duobus consularibus, ex altero etiam matrem.
Cum hac quoque divortium fecit, *pertaesus*, ut scri-
bit, *morum perversitatem eius*, ac statim Liviam
Drusillam matrimonio Tiberi Neronis et quidem prae-
gnantem abduxit dilexitque et probavit unice ac perse-
veranter.

Ex Scribonia Iuliam, ex Livia nihil liberorum tulit 63
cum maxime cuperet. Infans qui conceptus erat im-
maturus est editus. Iuliam primum Marcello Octaviae
sororis suae filio tantum quod pueritiam egresso, deinde,
ut is obiit, M. Agrippae nuptum dedit, exorata sorore
ut sibi genero cederet; nam tunc Agrippa alteram
Marcellarum habebat et ex ea liberos. Hoc quoque 2
defuncto, multis ac diu, etiam ex equestri ordine, cir-
cumspectis condicionibus, Tiberium privignum suum
elegit coegitque praegnantem uxorem et ex qua iam
pater erat dimittere. M. Antonius scribit primum eum
Antonio filio suo despondisse Iuliam, dein Cotisoni Geta-
rum regi, quo tempore sibi quoque in vicem filiam regis
in matrimonium petisset.

Nepotes ex Agrippa et Iulia tres habuit, C. et L. et 64
Agrippam; neptes duas, Iuliam et Agrippinam. Iuliam
L. Paulo censoris filio, Agrippinam Germanico sororis
suae nepoti collocavit. Gaium et L. adoptavit domi
per assem et libram emptos a patre Agrippa teneros-
que adhuc ad curam rei p. admovit et consules desig-
natos circum provincias exercitusque dimisit. Filiam 2
et neptes ita instituit ut etiam lanificio assuefaceret
vetaretque loqui aut agere quicquam nisi propalam et
quod in diurnos commentarios referretur; extraneorum
quidem coetu adeo prohibuit ut L. Vinicio, claro deco-

roque iuveni, scripserit quondam parum modeste
fecisse eum quod filiam suam Baias saluta-
3 tum venisset. Nepotes et litteras et natare aliaque
rudimenta per se plerumque docuit, ac nihil aeque elabo-
ravit quam ut imitarentur chirographum suum; neque
cenavit una nisi ut in imo lecto assiderent, neque iter
fecit nisi ut vehiculo anteirent aut circa adequitarent.

65 Sed laetum eum atque fidentem et subole et disciplina
domus Fortuna destituit. Iulias, filiam et neptem, om-
nibus probris contaminatas relegavit; C. et L. in duo-
deviginti mensium spatio amisit ambos, Gaio in Lycia,
Lucio Massiliae defunctis. Tertium nepotem Agrippam
simulque privignum Tiberium adoptavit in foro lege cu-
riata; ex quibus Agrippam brevi ob ingenium sordidum
ac ferox abdicavit seposuitque Surrentum.

2 Aliquanto autem patientius mortem quam dedecora
suorum tulit. Nam C. Lucique casu non adeo fractus,
de filia absens ac libello per quaestorem recitato notum
senatui fecit abstinuitque congressu hominum diu prae
pudore, etiam de necanda deliberavit. Certe cum sub
idem tempus una ex consciis liberta Phoebe suspendio
vitam finisset, maluisse se ait Phoebes patrem
3 fuisse. Relegatae usum vini omnemque delicatiorem
cultum ademit neque adiri a quoquam libero servove
nisi se consulto permisit, et ita ut certior fieret qua
is aetate, qua statura, quo colore esset, etiam quibus
corporis notis vel cicatricibus. Post quinquennium de-
mum ex insula in continentem lenioribusque paulo
condicionibus transtulit eam. Nam ut omnino revo-
caret exorari nullo modo potuit, deprecanti saepe p. R.
et pertinacius instanti tales filias talesque coniuges pro
4 contione inprecatus. Ex nepte Iulia post damnationem

editum infantem adgnosci alique vetuit. Agrippam nihilo tractabiliorem, immo in dies amentiorem in insulam transportavit saepsitque insuper custodia militum. Cavit etiam s. c. ut eodem loci in perpetuum contineretur. Atque ad omnem et eius et Iuliarum mentionem ingemiscens proclamare etiam solebat:

Αἴθ' ὄφελον ἄγαμός τ' ἔμεναι ἄγονός τ' ἀπολέσθαι

nec aliter eos appellare quam tris vomicas ac tria carcinomata sua.

Amicitias neque facile admisit et constantissime reti- 66
nuit, non tantum virtutes ac merita cuiusque digne prosecutus, sed vitia quoque et delicta, dum taxat modica, perpessus. Neque enim temere ex omni numero in amicitia eius afflicti reperientur praeter Salvidienum Rufum, quem ad consulatum usque, et Cornelium Gallum, quem ad praefecturam Aegypti, ex infima utrumque fortuna provexerat. Quorum alterum res novas 2
molientem damnandum senatui tradidit, alteri ob ingratum et malivolum animum domo et provinciis suis interdixit. Sed Gallo quoque et accusatorum denuntiationibus et senatus consultis ad necem conpulso, laudavit quidem pietatem tanto opere pro se indignantium, ceterum et inlacrimavit et vicem suam conquestus est, quod sibi soli non liceret amicis quatenus vellet irasci. Reliqui potentia atque opibus ad 3
finem vitae sui quisque ordinis principes floruerunt, quanquam et offensis intervenientibus. Desideravit enim nonnumquam, ne de pluribus referam, et M. Agrippae patientiam et Maecenatis taciturnitatem, cum ille ex levi frigoris suspicione et quod Marcellus sibi anteferretur Mytilenas se relictis omnibus contulisset, hic secretum

de comperta Murenae coniuratione uxori Terentiae prodidisset.

4 Exegit et ipse in vicem ab amicis benivolentiam mutuam, tam a defunctis quam a vivis. Nam quamvis minime appeteret hereditates, ut qui numquam ex ignoti testamento capere quicquam sustinuerit, amicorum tamen suprema iudicia morosissime pensitavit, neque dolore dissimulato si parcius aut citra honorem verborum, neque gaudio si grate pieque quis se prosecutus fuisset. Legata vel partes hereditatium a quibuscumque parentibus relicta sibi aut statim liberis eorum concedere aut, si pupillari aetate essent, die virilis togae vel nuptiarum cum incremento restituere consueverat.

67 Patronus dominusque non minus severus quam facilis et clemens multos libertorum in honore et usu maximo habuit, ut Licinum et Celadum aliosque. Cosmum servum gravissime de se opinantem non ultra quam compedibus coercuit. Diomeden dispensatorem, a quo simul ambulante incurrenti repente fero apro per metum obiectus est, maluit timiditatis arguere quam noxae remque non minimi periculi, quia tamen fraus aberat, in iocum
2 vertit. Idem Polum ex acceptissimis libertis mori coegit compertum adulterare matronas; Thallo a manu, quod pro epistula prodita denarios quingentos accepisset, crura ei fregit; paedagogum ministrosque C. fili, per occasionem valitudinis mortisque eius superbe avareque in provincia grassatos, oneratos gravi pondere cervicibus praecipitavit in flumen.

68 Prima iuventa variorum dedecorum infamiam subiit. Sextus Pompeius ut effeminatum insectatus est; M. Antonius adoptionem avunculi stupro meritum; item L. Marci frater, quasi pudicitiam delibatam a Caesare

Aulo etiam Hirtio in Hispania trecentis milibus nummum substraverit solitusque sit crura suburere nuce ardenti quo mollior pilus surgeret. Sed et populus quondam universus ludorum die et accepit in contumeliam eius et adsensu maximo conprobavit versum in scaena pronuntiatum de gallo Matris deum tympanizante:

Videsne ut cinaedus orbem digito temperat?

Adulteria quidem exercuisse ne amici quidem negant, 69
excusantes sane non libidine, sed ratione commissa, quo facilius consilia adversariorum per cuiusque mulieres exquireret. M. Antonius super festinatas Liviae nuptias obiecit et feminam consularem e triclinio viri coram in cubiculum abductam, rursus in convivium rubentibus auriculis incomptiore capillo reductam; dimissam Scriboniam quia liberius doluisset nimiam potentiam paelicis; condiciones quaesitas per amicos, qui matres familias et adultas aetate virgines denudarent atque perspicerent tamquam Toranio mangone vendente. Scribit etiam ad 2
ipsum haec familiariter adhuc necdum plane inimicus aut hostis: *Quid te mutavit? Quod reginam ineo? Uxor mea est. Nunc coepi an abhinc annos novem? Tu deinde solam Drusillam inis? Ita valeas uti tu, hanc epistulam cum leges, non inieris Tertullam aut Terentillam aut Rufillam aut Salviam Titiseniam aut omnes. An refert ubi et in qua arrigas?*

Cena quoque eius secretior in fabulis fuit, quae vulgo 70
δωδεκάθεος vocabatur; in qua deorum dearumque habitu discubuisse convivas et ipsum pro Apolline ornatum non Antoni modo epistulae singulorum nomina amarissime

enumerantis exprobrant, sed et sine auctore notissimi versus:

Cum primum istorum conduxit mensa choragum,
sexque deos vidit Mallia sexque deas,
impia dum Phoebi Caesar mendacia ludit,
dum nova divorum cenat adulteria:
omnia se a terris tunc numina declinarunt,
fugit et auratos Iuppiter ipse thronos.

2 Auxit cenae rumorem summa tunc in civitate penuria ac fames, adclamatumque est postridie: omne frumentum deos comedisse et Caesarem esse plane Apollinem, sed Tortorem, quo cognomine is deus quadam in parte urbis colebatur. Notatus est et ut pretiosae supellectilis Corinthiorumque praecupidus et aleae indulgens. Nam et proscriptionis tempore ad statuam eius ascriptum est:

Pater argentarius, ego Corinthiarius,

cum existimaretur quosdam propter vasa Corinthia inter proscriptos curasse referendos; et deinde bello Siciliensi epigramma vulgatum est:

Postquam bis classe victus naves perdidit,
aliquando ut vincat ludit assidue aleam.

71 Ex quibus sive criminibus sive maledictis infamiam impudicitiae facillime refutavit et praesentis et posterae vitae castitate; item lautitiarum invidiam, cum et Alexandria capta nihil sibi praeter unum murrinum calicem ex instrumento regio retinuerit et mox vasa aurea assiduissimi usus conflaverit omnia. Circa libidines haesit, postea quoque, ut ferunt, ad vitiandas virgines promptior, quae sibi undique etiam ab uxore conquirerentur. Aleae

rumorem nullo modo expavit lusitque simpliciter et
palam oblectamenti causa etiam senex ac praeterquam
Decembri mense aliis quoque festis et profestis diebus.
Nec id dubium est. Autographa quadam epistula, 2
Cenavi, ait, mi Tiberi, cum isdem; accesse-
runt convivae Vinicius et Silius pater. Inter
cenam lusimus geronticos et heri et hodie;
talis enim iactatis, ut quisque canem aut
senionem miserat, in singulos talos singulos
denarios in medium conferebat, quos tollebat
universos qui Venerem iecerat. Et rursus 3
aliis litteris: Nos, mi Tiberi, Quinquatrus satis
iucunde egimus; lusimus enim per omnis
dies forumque aleatorum calfecimus. Frater
tuus magnis clamoribus rem gessit; ad sum-
mam tamen perdidit non multum, sed ex
magnis detrimentis praeter spem paulatim
retractum est. Ego perdidi viginti milia
nummum meo nomine, sed cum effuse in lusu
liberalis fuissem, ut soleo plerumque. Nam
si quas manus remisi cuique exegissem aut
retinuissem quod cuique donavi, vicissem
vel quinquaginta milia. Sed hoc malo; be-
nignitas enim mea me ad caelestem gloriam
efferet. Scribit ad filiam: Misi tibi denarios 4
ducentos quinquaginta, quos singulis con-
vivis dederam si vellent inter se inter ce-
nam vel talis vel par impar ludere.

In ceteris partibus vitae continentissimum constat ac 72
sine suspicione ullius vitii. Habitavit primo iuxta Ro-
manum forum supra Scalas Anularias in domo quae Calvi
oratoris fuerat; postea in Palatio, sed nihilo minus

aedibus modicis Hortensianis et neque laxitate neque cultu conspicuis, ut in quibus porticus breves essent Albanarum columnarum et sine marmore ullo aut insigni pavimento conclavia. Ac per annos amplius quadraginta eodem cubiculo hieme et aestate mansit, quamvis parum salubrem valitudini suae urbem hieme experiretur
2 assidueque in urbe hiemaret. Si quando quid secreto aut sine interpellatione agere proposuisset, erat illi locus in edito singularis quem Syracusas et technyphion vocabat: huc transibat aut in alicuius libertorum suburbanum; aeger autem in domo Maecenatis cubabat. Ex secessibus praecipue frequentavit maritima insulasque Campaniae aut proxima urbi oppida, Lanuvium, Praeneste, Tibur, ubi etiam in porticibus Herculis templi
3 persaepe ius dixit. Ampla et operosa praetoria gravabatur. Et neptis quidem suae Iuliae, profuse ab ea extructa, etiam diruit ad solum, sua vero quamvis modica non tam statuarum tabularumque pictarum ornatu quam xystis et nemoribus excoluit rebusque vetustate ac raritate notabilibus, qualia sunt Capreis immanium beluarum ferarumque membra praegrandia, quae dicuntur gigantum ossa, et arma heroum.

73 Instrumenti eius et supellectilis parsimonia apparet etiam nunc residuis lectis atque mensis, quorum pleraque vix privatae elegantiae sint. Ne toro quidem cubuisse aiunt nisi humili et modice instrato. Veste non temere alia quam domestica usus est, ab sorore et uxore et filia neptibusque confecta; togis neque restrictis neque fusis, clavo nec lato nec angusto, calciamentis altiusculis ut procerior quam erat videretur. Et forensia autem et calceos numquam non intra cubiculum habuit ad subitos repentinosque casus parata.

Convivabatur assidue nec umquam nisi recta, non sine 74
magno ordinum hominumque dilectu. Valerius Messala tradit neminem umquam libertinorum adhibitum ab eo cenae excepto Mena, sed asserto in ingenuitatem post proditam Sexti Pompei classem. Ipse scribit invitasse se quondam in cuius villa maneret, qui speculator suus olim fuisset. Convivia nonnumquam et serius inibat et maturius relinquebat, cum convivae et cenare inciperent prius quam ille discumberet et permanerent digresso eo. Cenam ternis ferculis aut cum abundantissime senis praebebat, ut non nimio sumptu, ita summa comitate. Nam et ad communionem sermonis tacentis vel summissim fabulantis provocabat, et aut acroamata et histriones aut etiam triviales ex circo ludios interponebat ac frequentius aretalogos.

Festos et sollemnes dies profusissime, nonnumquam 75
tantum ioculariter celebrabat. Saturnalibus, et si quando alias libuisset, modo munera dividebat, vestem et aurum et argentum, modo nummos omnis notae, etiam veteres regios ac peregrinos, interdum nihil praeter cilicia et spongias et rutabula et forpices atque alia id genus titulis obscuris et ambiguis. Solebat et inaequalissimarum rerum sortes et aversas tabularum picturas in convivio venditare incertoque casu spem mercantium vel frustrari vel explere, ita ut per singulos lectos licitatio fieret et seu iactura seu lucrum communicaretur.

Cibi — nam ne haec quidem omiserim — minimi erat 76
atque vulgaris fere. Secundarium panem et pisciculos minutos et caseum bibulum manu pressum et ficos virides biferas maxime appetebat; vescebaturque et ante cenam quocumque tempore et loco quo stomachus desiderasset. Verba ipsius ex epistulis sunt: *Nos in*

2 essedo panem et palmulas gustavimus. Et iterum: Dum lectica ex regia domum redeo, panis unciam cum paucis acinis uvae duracinae comedi. Et rursus: Ne Iudaeus quidem, mi Tiberi, tam diligenter sabbatis ieiunium servat quam ego hodie servavi, qui in balineo demum post horam primam noctis duas buccas manducavi prius quam ungui inciperem. Ex hac inobservantia nonnumquam vel ante initum vel post dimissum convivium solus cenitabat, cum pleno convivio nihil tangeret.

77 Vini quoque natura parcissimus erat. Non amplius ter bibere eum solitum super cenam in castris apud Mutinam Cornelius Nepos tradit. Postea quotiens largissime se invitaret, senos sextantes non excessit aut, si excessisset, reiciebat. Et maxime delectatus est Raetico neque temere interdiu bibit. Pro potione sumebat perfusum aqua frigida panem aut cucumeris frustum vel lactuculae thyrsum aut recens aridumve pomum suci vinosioris.

78 Post cibum meridianum, ita ut vestitus calciatusque erat, retectis pedibus paulisper conquiescebat opposita ad oculos manu. A cena in lecticulam se lucubratoriam recipiebat; ibi, donec residua diurni actus aut omnia aut ex maxima parte conficeret, ad multam noctem permanebat. In lectum inde transgressus non amplius cum plurimum quam septem horas dormiebat, ac ne eas quidem continuas, sed ut in illo temporis spatio ter aut
2 quater expergisceretur. Si interruptum somnum reciperare, ut evenit, non posset, lectoribus aut fabulatoribus arcessitis resumebat producebatque ultra primam saepe lucem. Nec in tenebris vigilavit umquam nisi assidente

aliquo. Matutina vigilia offendebatur; ac si vel officii vel sacri causa maturius vigilandum esset, ne id contra commodum faceret in proximo cuiuscumque domesticorum cenaculo manebat. Sic quoque saepe indigens somni, et dum per vicos deportaretur et deposita lectica inter aliquas moras condormiebat.

79 Forma fuit eximia et per omnes aetatis gradus venustissima, quamquam et omnis lenocinii neglegens; in capite comendo tam incuriosus ut raptim compluribus simul tonsoribus operam daret ac modo tonderet modo raderet barbam eoque ipso tempore aut legeret aliquid aut etiam scriberet. Vultu erat vel in sermone vel tacitus adeo tranquillo serenoque ut quidam e primoribus Galliarum confessus sit inter suos eo se inhibitum ac remollitum quo minus, ut destinarat, in transitu Alpium per simulationem conloquii propius admissus in praecipitium propelleret. Oculos habuit claros ac nitidos, 2 quibus etiam existimari volebat inesse quiddam divini vigoris, gaudebatque si qui sibi acrius contuenti quasi ad fulgorem solis vultum summitteret; sed in senecta sinistro minus vidit; dentes raros et exiguos et scabros; capillum leviter inflexum et subflavum; supercilia coniuncta; mediocres aures; nasum et a summo eminentiorem et ab imo deductiorem; colorem inter aquilum candidumque; staturam brevem, — quam tamen Iulius Marathus libertus † etiam memoriam eius quinque pedum et dodrantis fuisse tradit — sed quae commoditate et aequitate membrorum occuleretur ut non nisi ex comparatione astantis alicuius procerioris intellegi posset.

80 Corpore traditur maculoso, dispersis per pectus atque alvum genetivis notis in modum et ordinem ac numerum stellarum caelestis ursae, sed et callis quibusdam ex

prurigine corporis adsiduoque et vehementi strigilis usu plurifariam concretis ad impetiginis formam. Coxendice et femore et crure sinistro non perinde valebat, ut saepe etiam inclaudicaret; sed remedio harenarum atque harundinum confirmabatur. Dextrae quoque manus digitum salutarem tam imbecillum interdum sentiebat ut torpentem contractumque frigore vix cornei circuli supplemento scripturae admoveret. Questus est et de vesica, cuius dolore calculis demum per urinam eiectis levabatur.

81 Graves et periculosas valitudines per omnem vitam aliquot expertus est; praecipue Cantabria domita, cum etiam destillationibus iocinere vitiato ad desperationem redactus contrariam et ancipitem rationem medendi necessario subiit: quia calida fomenta non proderant, frigidis curari coactus auctore Antonio Musa.

2 Quasdam et anniversarias ac tempore certo recurrentes experiebatur; nam sub natalem suum plerumque languebat; et initio veris praecordiorum inflatione temptabatur, austrinis autem tempestatibus gravedine. Quare quassato corpore neque frigora neque aestus facile tolerabat.

82 Hieme quaternis cum pingui toga tunicis et subucula
et thorace laneo et feminalibus et tibialibus muniebatur,
aestate apertis cubiculi foribus ac saepe in peristylo sali-
ente aqua atque etiam ventilante aliquo cubabat. Solis
vero ne hiberni quidem patiens, domi quoque non nisi
petasatus sub divo spatiabatur. Itinera lectica et nocti-
bus fere eaque lenta ac minuta faciebat, ut Praeneste vel
Tibur biduo procederet; ac si quo pervenire mari posset,
2 potius navigabat. Verum tantam infirmitatem magna
cura tuebatur, in primis lavandi raritate; unguebatur
enim saepius aut sudabat ad flammam, deinde perfunde-

batur egelida aqua vel sole multo tepefacta. At quotiens nervorum causa marinis Albulisque calidis utendum esset, contentus hoc erat ut insidens ligneo solio, quod ipse Hispanico verbo duretam vocabat, manus ac pedes alternis iactaret.

Exercitationes campestres equorum et armorum statim 83 post civilia bella omisit et ad pilam primo folliculumque transiit, mox nihil aliud quam vectabatur et deambulabat, ita ut in extremis spatiis subsultim decurreret † sestertio vel lodicula involutus. Animi laxandi causa modo piscabatur hamo, modo talis aut ocellatis nucibusque ludebat cum pueris minutis, quos facie et garrulitate amabilis undique conquirebat, praecipue Mauros et Syros. Nam pumilos atque distortos et omnis generis eiusdem ut ludibria naturae malique ominis abhorrebat.

Eloquentiam studiaque liberalia ab aetate prima et 84 cupide et laboriosissime exercuit. Mutinensi bello in tanta mole rerum et legisse et scripsisse et declamasse cotidie traditur. Nam deinceps neque in senatu neque apud populum neque apud milites locutus est umquam nisi meditata et composita oratione, quamvis non deficeretur ad subita extemporali facultate. Ac ne periculum 2 memoriae adiret aut in ediscendo tempus absumeret, instituit recitare omnia. Sermones quoque cum singulis atque etiam cum Livia sua graviores non nisi scriptos et e libello habebat, ne plus minusve loqueretur ex tempore. Pronuntiabat dulci et proprio quodam oris sono dabatque assidue phonasco operam; sed nonnumquam infirmatis faucibus praeconis voce ad populum contionatus est.

Multa varii generis prosa oratione composuit, ex quibus 85 nonnulla in coetu familiarium velut in auditorio recitavit, sicut *Rescripta Bruto de Catone*, quae vo-

lumina cum iam senior ex magna parte legisset, fatigatus Tiberio tradidit perlegenda; item *Hortationes ad Philosophiam* et aliqua de *Vita Sua*, quam tredecim
2 libris Cantabrico tenus bello nec ultra exposuit. Poetica summatim attigit. Unus liber extat scriptus ab eo hexametris versibus, cuius et argumentum et titulus est *Sicilia*; extat alter aeque modicus *Epigrammatum*, quae fere tempore balinei meditabatur. Nam tragoediam magno impetu exorsus, non succedenti stilo, abolevit quaerentibusque amicis quidnam Aiax ageret respondit *Aiacem suum in spongiam incubuisse.*

86 Genus eloquendi secutus est elegans et temperatum, vitatis sententiarum ineptiis atque concinnitate et *reconditorum verborum*, ut ipse dicit, *fetoribus*; praecipuamque curam duxit sensum animi quam apertissime exprimere. Quod quo facilius efficeret aut necubi lectorem vel auditorem obturbaret ac moraretur, neque praepositiones urbibus addere neque coniunctiones saepius iterare dubitavit, quae detractae afferunt aliquid
2 obscuritatis etsi gratiam augent. Cacozelos et antiquarios ut diverso genere vitiosos pari fastidio sprevit exagitabatque nonnumquam; in primis Maecenatem suum, cuius *myrobrechis*, ut ait, *cincinnos* usque quaque persequitur et imitando per iocum irridet. Sed nec Tiberio parcit et exoletas interdum et reconditas voces aucupanti. M. quidem Antonium ut insanum increpat quasi ea scribentem quae mirentur potius homines quam intellegant; deinde ludens malum et inconstans in eli-
3 gendo genere dicendi ingenium eius, addit haec: *Tuque dubitas Cimberne Annius an Veranius Flaccus imitandi sint tibi, ita ut verbis quae Crispus Sallustius excerpsit ex Ori-*

ginibus Catonis utaris? An potius Asiaticorum oratorum inanis sententiis verborum volubilitas in nostrum sermonem transferenda? Et quadam epistula Agrippinae neptis ingenium conlaudans: Sed opus est, inquit, dare te operam ne moleste scribas et loquaris.

Cotidiano sermone quaedam frequentius et notabiliter 87 usurpasse eum litterae ipsius autographae ostentant, in quibus identidem, cum aliquos numquam soluturos significare vult, ad Kalendas Graecas soluturos ait; et cum hortatur ferenda esse praesentia, qualiacumque sint: Contenti simus hoc Catone; et ad exprimendam festinatae rei velocitatem: Celerius quam asparagi cocuntur. Ponit assidue et pro stulto 2 baceolum, apud pullum pulleiaceum et pro cerrito vacerrosum et vapide se habere pro male et betizare pro languere, quod vulgo lachanizare dicitur; item simus pro sumus et domos genetivo casu singulari pro domuos. Nec umquam aliter haec duo, ne quis mendam magis quam consuetudinem putet.

Notavi et in chirographo eius illa praecipue: non 3 dividit verba nec ab extrema parte versuum abundantis litteras in alterum transfert, sed ibidem statim subicit circumducitque.

Orthographiam, id est formulam rationemque scribendi 88 a grammaticis institutam, non adeo custodit ac videtur eorum potius sequi opinionem qui perinde scribendum ac loquamur existiment. Nam quod saepe non litteras modo sed syllabas aut permutat aut praeterit communis hominum error est. Nec ego id notarem nisi mihi mirum videretur tradidisse aliquos legato eum consulari successorem dedisse ut rudi et indocto cuius manu ixi

pro ipsi scriptum animadverterit. Quotiens autem per notas scribit, B pro A, C pro B ac deinceps eadem ratione sequentis litteras ponit; pro X autem duplex A.

89 Ne Graecarum quidem disciplinarum leviore studio
tenebatur. In quibus et ipsis praestabat largiter, magi-
stro dicendi usus Apollodoro Pergameno, quem iam gran-
dem natu Apolloniam quoque secum ab urbe iuvenis
adhuc eduxerat, deinde eruditione etiam varia repletus
per Arei philosophi filiorumque eius Dionysi et Nica-
noris contubernium; non tamen ut aut loqueretur ex-
pedite aut componere aliquid auderet; nam et si quid
res exigeret, Latine formabat vertendumque alii dabat.
Sed plane poematum quoque non imperitus, delectabatur
etiam comoedia veteri et saepe eam exhibuit specta-
2 culis publicis. In evolvendis utriusque linguae auctori-
bus nihil aeque sectabatur quam praecepta et exempla
publice vel privatim salubria, eaque ad verbum ex-
cerpta aut ad domesticos aut ad exercituum provin-
ciarumque rectores aut ad urbis magistratus plerumque
mittebat, prout quique monitione indigerent. Etiam
libros totos et senatui recitavit et populo notos per
edictum saepe fecit, ut orationes Q. Metelli *de Prole
Augenda* et Rutili *de Modo Aedificiorum*, quo
magis persuaderet utramque rem non a se primo ani-
madversam, sed antiquis iam tunc curae fuisse.

3 Ingenia saeculi sui omnibus modis fovit. Recitantis et benigne et patienter audiit, nec tantum carmina et historias, sed et orationes et dialogos. Componi tamen aliquid de se nisi et serio et a praestantissimis offendebatur, admonebatque praetores ne paterentur nomen suum commissionibus obsolefieri.

90 Circa religiones talem accepimus. Tonitrua et fulgura

paulo infirmius expavescebat, ut semper et ubique pellem vituli marini circumferret pro remedio atque ad omnem maioris tempestatis suspicionem in abditum et concamaratum locum se reciperet, consternatus olim per nocturnum iter transcursu fulguris, ut praediximus.

Somnia neque sua neque aliena de se neglegebat. 91
Philippensi acie quamvis statuisset non egredi tabernaculo propter valitudinem, egressus est tamen amici somnio monitus; cessitque res prospere quando captis castris lectica eius, quasi ibi cubans remansisset, concursu hostium confossa atque lacerata est. Ipse per omne ver plurima et formidulosissima et vana et irrita videbat, reliquo tempore rariora et minus vana. Cum 2
dedicatam in Capitolio aedem Tonanti Iovi assidue frequentaret, somniavit queri Capitolinum Iovem cultores sibi abduci seque respondisse Tonantem pro ianitore ei appositum; ideoque mox tintinnabulis fastigium aedis redimiit quod ea fere ianuis dependebant. Ex nocturno visu etiam stipem quotannis die certo emendicabat a populo cavam manum asses porrigentibus praebens.

Auspicia et omina quaedam pro certissimis observabat: 92
si mane sibi calceus perperam ac sinister pro dextro induceretur, ut dirum; si terra marive ingrediente se longinquam profectionem forte rorasset, ut laetum maturique et prosperi reditus. Sed et ostentis praecipue movebatur. Enatam inter iuncturas lapidum ante domum suam palmam in conpluvium deorum Penatium transtulit utque coalesceret magno opere curavit. Apud 2
insulam Capreas veterrimae ilicis demissos iam ad terram languentisque ramos convaluisse adventu suo adeo laetatus est ut eas cum re p. Neapolitanorum permutaverit Aenaria data. Observabat et dies quosdam, ne aut

postridie nundinas quoquam proficisceretur aut Nonis quicquam rei seriae incoharet; nihil in hoc quidem aliud devitans, ut ad Tiberium scribit, quam δυσφημίαν nominis.

93 Peregrinarum caerimoniarum sicut veteres ac praeceptas reverentissime coluit, ita ceteras contemptui habuit. Namque Athenis initiatus, cum postea Romae pro tribunali de privilegio sacerdotum Atticae Cereris cognosceret et quaedam secretiora proponerentur, dimisso consilio et corona circumstantium solus audiit disceptantes. At contra non modo in peragranda Aegypto paulo deflectere ad visendum Apin supersedit, sed et Gaium nepotem, quod Iudaeam praetervehens apud Hierosolyma non supplicasset, conlaudavit.

94 Et quoniam ad haec ventum est, non ab re fuerit subtexere quae ei prius quam nasceretur et ipso natali die ac deinceps evenerint quibus futura magnitudo eius et perpetua felicitas sperari animadvertique posset.

2 Velitris antiquitus tacta de caelo parte muri responsum est eius oppidi civem quandoque rerum potiturum; qua fiducia Veliterni et tunc statim et postea saepius paene ad exitium sui cum populo R. belligeraverant; sero tandem documentis apparuit ostentum illud Augusti potentiam portendisse.

3 Auctor est Iulius Marathus ante paucos quam nasceretur menses prodigium Romae factum publice, quo denuntiabatur regem populo Romano naturam parturire; senatum exterritum censuisse ne quis illo anno genitus educaretur; eos qui gravidas uxores haberent, quod ad se quisque spem traheret, curasse ne senatus consultum ad aerarium deferretur.

4 In Asclepiadis Mendetis Theologumenon libris lego Atiam, cum ad sollemne Apollinis sacrum media nocte

venisset, posita in templo lectica dum ceterae matronae dormirent obdormisse; draconem repente irrepsisse ad eam pauloque post egressum; illam expergefactam quasi a concubitu mariti purificasse se; et statim in corpore eius extitisse maculam velut picti draconis nec potuisse umquam exigi, adeo ut mox publicis balineis perpetuo abstinuerit; Augustum natum mense decimo et ob hoc Apollinis filium existimatum. Eadem Atia, prius quam pareret, somniavit intestina sua ferri ad sidera explicarique per omnem terrarum et caeli ambitum. Somniavit et pater Octavius utero Atiae iubar solis exortum.

Quo natus est die, cum de Catilinae coniuratione age- 5
retur in curia et Octavius ob uxoris puerperium serius affuisset, nota ac vulgata res est P. Nigidium comperta morae causa, ut horam quoque partus acceperit, affirmasse dominum terrarum orbi natum. Octavio postea, cum per secreta Thraciae exercitum duceret, in Liberi patris luco barbara caerimonia de filio consulenti idem affirmatum est a sacerdotibus, quod infuso super altaria mero tantum flammae emicuisset ut supergressa fastigium templi ad caelum usque ferretur unique omnino Magno Alexandro apud easdem aras sacrificanti simile provenisset ostentum. Atque etiam sequenti statim nocte videre visus est filium 6
mortali specie ampliorem, cum fulmine et sceptro exuviisque Iovis Optimi Maximi ac radiata corona, super laureatum currum, bis senis equis candore eximio trahentibus. Infans adhuc, ut scriptum apud C. Drusum extat, repositus vespere in cunas a nutricula loco plano, postera luce non comparuit diuque quaesitus tandem in altissima turri repertus est iacens contra solis exortum.

Cum primum fari coepisset, in avito suburbano obstre- 7
pentis forte ranas silere iussit, atque ex eo negantur ibi

ranae coaxare. Ad quartum lapidem Campanae viae in nemore prandenti ex inproviso aquila panem ei e manu rapuit et, cum altissime evolasset, rursus ex inproviso leniter delapsa reddidit.

8 Q. Catulus post dedicatum Capitolium duabus continuis noctibus somniavit: prima, Iovem Optimum Maximum e praetextatis compluribus circum aram ludentibus unum secrevisse atque in eius sinum signum rei p. quod manu gestaret reposuisse; at insequenti, animadvertisse se in gremio Capitolini Iovis eundem puerum, quem cum detrahi iussisset, prohibitum monitu dei tamquam is ad tutelam rei p. educaretur; ac die proximo obvium sibi Augustum, cum incognitum alias haberet, non sine admiratione contuitus simillimum dixit puero de quo somniasset. Quidam prius somnium Catuli aliter exponunt, quasi Iuppiter compluribus praetextatis tutorem a se poscentibus unum ex eis demonstrasset, ad quem omnia desideria sua referrent, eiusque osculum delibatum digitis ad os suum rettulisset.

9 M. Cicero C. Caesarem in Capitolium prosecutus somnium pristinae noctis familiaribus forte narrabat: puerum facie liberali demissum e caelo catena aurea ad fores Capitoli constitisse eique Iovem flagellum tradidisse; deinde repente Augusto viso, quem ignotum plerisque adhuc avunculus Caesar ad sacrificandum acciverat, affirmavit ipsum esse cuius imago secundum quietem sibi obversata sit.

10 Sumenti virilem togam tunica lati clavi resuta ex utraque parte ad pedes decidit. Fuerunt qui interpretarentur non aliud significare quam ut is ordo cuius insigne id esset quandoque ei subiceretur.

11 Apud Mundam Divus Iulius castris locum capiens

cum silvam caederet, arborem palmae repertam conservari ut omen victoriae iussit; ex ea continuo enata suboles adeo in paucis diebus adolevit ut non aequiperaret modo matricem, verum et obtegeret frequentareturque columbarum nidis, quamvis id avium genus duram et asperam frondem maxime vitet. Illo et praecipue ostento motum Caesarem ferunt ne quem alium sibi succedere quam sororis nepotem vellet.

In secessu Apolloniae Theogenis mathematici per- 12
gulam comite Agrippa ascenderat; cum Agrippae, qui prior consulebat, magna et paene incredibilia praedicerentur, reticere ipse genituram suam nec velle edere perseverabat metu ac pudore ne minor inveniretur. Qua tamen post multas adhortationes vix et cunctanter edita exilivit Theogenes adoravitque eum. Tantam mox fiduciam fati Augustus habuit ut thema suum vulgaverit nummumque argenteum nota sideris Capricorni, quo natus est, percusserit.

Post necem Caesaris reverso ab Apollonia et ingre- 95
diente eo urbem, repente liquido ac puro sereno circulus ad speciem caelestis arcus orbem solis ambiit ac subinde Iuliae Caesaris filiae monimentum fulmine ictum est. Primo autem consulatu et augurium capienti duodecim se vultures ut Romulo ostenderunt et immolanti omnium victimarum iocinera replicata intrinsecus ab ima fibra paruerunt, nemine peritorum aliter coiectante quam laeta per haec et magna portendi.

Quin et bellorum omnium eventus ante praesensit. 96
Contractis ad Bononiam triumvirorum copiis, aquila tentorio eius supersedens duos corvos hinc et inde infestantis afflixit et ad terram dedit, notante omni exercitu futuram quandoque inter collegas discordiam talem qua-

lis secuta est atque exitum praesagiente. . . . . Philippos Thessalus quidam de futura victoria nuntiavit auctore Divo Caesare, cuius sibi species itinere avio occurrisset.

2 Circa Perusiam sacrificio non litanti cum augeri hostias imperasset ac subita eruptione hostes omnem rei divinae apparatum abstulissent, constitit inter haruspices quae periculosa et adversa sacrificanti denuntiata essent cuncta in ipsos recasura qui exta haberent; neque aliter evenit. Pridie quam Siciliensem pugnam classe committeret, deambulanti in litore piscis e mari exilivit et ad pedes iacuit. Apud Actium descendenti in aciem asellus cum asinario occurrit: homini Eutychus, bestiae Nicon erat nomen; utriusque simulacrum aeneum victor posuit in templo in quod castrorum suorum locum vertit.

97 Mors quoque eius, de qua dehinc dicam, divinitasque post mortem evidentissimis ostentis praecognita est. Cum lustrum in campo Martio magna populi frequentia conderet, aquila eum saepius circumvolavit transgressaque in vicinam aedem super nomen Agrippae ad primam litteram sedit; quo animadverso, vota quae in proximum lustrum suscipi mos est collegam suum Tiberium nuncupare iussit: nam se, quanquam conscriptis paratisque iam tabulis, negavit suscepturum quae non
2 esset soluturus. Sub idem tempus ictu fulminis ex inscriptione statuae eius prima nominis littera effluxit; responsum est centum solos dies posthac victurum, quem numerum C littera notaret, futurumque ut inter deos referretur quod aesar, id est reliqua pars e Caesaris nomine, Etrusca lingua deus vocaretur.

3 Tiberium igitur in Illyricum dimissurus et Beneventum usque prosecuturus, cum interpellatores aliis atque

aliis causis in iure dicendo detinerent, exclamavit, quod et ipsum mox inter omina relatum est: non, si omnia morarentur, amplius se posthac Romae futurum; atque itinere incohato Asturam perrexit et inde praeter consuetudinem de nocte ad occasionem aurae evectus causam valitudinis contraxit ex profluvio alvi.

Tunc Campaniae ora proximisque insulis circuitis Ca- 98
prearum quoque secessui quadriduum impendit, remississimo ad otium et ad omnem comitatem animo.

Forte Puteolanum sinum praetervehenti vectores nau- 2
taeque de navi Alexandrina, quae tantum quod appulerat, candidati coronatique et tura libantes fausta omina et eximias laudes congesserant: per illum se vivere, per illum navigare, libertate atque fortunis per illum frui. Qua re admodum exhilaratus quadragenos aureos comitibus divisit iusque iurandum et cautionem exegit a singulis non alio datam summam quam in emptionem Alexandrinarum mercium absumpturos.
Sed et ceteros continuos dies inter varia munuscula 3
togas insuper ac pallia distribuit, lege proposita ut Romani Graeco, Graeci Romano habitu et sermone uterentur. Spectavit assidue exercentes ephebos, quorum aliqua adhuc copia ex vetere instituto Capreis erat; isdem etiam epulum in conspectu suo praebuit permissa, immo exacta iocandi licentia diripiendique pomorum et obsoniorum rerumque . . . missilia. Nullo denique genere hilaritatis abstinuit.

Vicinam Capreis insulam Apragopolim appellabat a 4
desidia secedentium illuc e comitatu suo. Sed ex dilectis unum, Masgàban nomine, quasi conditorem insulae *κτίστην* vocare consueverat. Huius Masgabae ante annum defuncti tumulum cum e triclinio animadvertisset magna

turba multisque luminibus frequentari, versum compositum ex tempore clare pronuntiavit:

Κτίστου δὲ τύμβον εἰσορῶ πυρούμενον·

conversusque ad Thrasyllum, Tiberi comitem contra accubantem et ignarum rei, interrogavit cuiusnam poetae putaret esse; quo haesitante subiecit alium:

Ὁρᾷς φάεσσι Μασγάβαν τιμώμενον;

ac de hoc quoque consuluit. Cum ille nihil aliud responderet quam cuiuscumque essent optimos esse,
5 cachinnum sustulit atque in iocos effusus est. Mox Neapolim traiecit quanquam etiam tum infirmis intestinis morbo variante; tamen et quinquennale certamen gymnicum honori suo institutum perspectavit et cum Tiberio ad destinatum locum contendit. Sed in redeundo adgravata valitudine tandem Nolae succubuit revocatumque ex itinere Tiberium diu secreto sermone detinuit neque post ulli maiori negotio animum accommodavit.

99 Supremo die identidem exquirens an iam de se tumultus foris esset, petito speculo capillum sibi comi ac malas labantes corrigi praecepit et admissos amicos percontatus *ecquid iis videretur mimum vitae commode transegisse*, adiecit et clausulam:

Ἐπεὶ δὲ πάνυ καλῶς πέπαισται, δότε κρότον
καὶ πάντες ἡμᾶς μετὰ χαρᾶς προπέμψατε.

Omnibus deinde dimissis, dum advenientes ab urbe de Drusi filia aegra interrogat, repente in osculis Liviae et in hac voce defecit: *Livia, nostri coniugii memor vive, ac vale!* sortitus exitum facilem et
2 qualem semper optaverat. Nam fere quotiens audisset

cito ac nullo cruciatu defunctum quempiam, sibi et suis εὐθανασίαν similem — hoc enim et verbo uti solebat — precabatur. Unum omnino ante efflatam animam signum alienatae mentis ostendit, quod subito pavefactus a quadraginta se iuvenibus abripi questus est. Id quoque magis praesagium quam mentis deminutio fuit, siquidem totidem milites praetoriani extulerunt eum in publicum.

Obiit in cubiculo eodem quo pater Octavius, duobus 100
Sextis, Pompeio et Appuleio, cons. XIIII. Kal. Septemb. hora diei nona, septuagesimo et sexto aetatis anno, diebus V et XXX minus.

Corpus decuriones municipiorum et coloniarum a Nola 2
Bovillas usque deportarunt noctibus propter anni tempus, cum interdiu in basilica cuiusque oppidi vel in aedium sacrarum maxima reponeretur. A Bovillis equester ordo suscepit urbique intulit atque in vestibulo domus conlocavit. Senatus et in funere ornando et in memoria honoranda eo studio certatim progressus est ut inter alia complura censuerint quidam funus triumphali porta ducendum, praecedente Victoria quae est in curia, canentibus neniam principum liberis utriusque sexus; alii, exequiarum die ponendos anulos aureos ferreosque sumendos; nonnulli, ossa legenda per sacerdotes summorum collegiorum. Fuit et qui suaderet appellationem mensis 3
Augusti in Septembrem transferendam quod hoc genitus Augustus, illo defunctus esset; alius, ut omne tempus a primo die natali ad exitum eius saeculum Augustum appellaretur et ita in fastos referretur. Verum adhibito honoribus modo bifariam laudatus est: pro aede Divi Iuli a Tiberio et pro rostris veteribus a Druso Tiberi filio, ac senatorum umeris delatus in Campum crematusque.

4 Nec defuit vir praetorius qui se effigiem cremati euntem in caelum vidisse iuraret. Reliquias legerunt primores equestris ordinis tunicati et discincti pedibusque nudis ac Mausoleo condiderunt. Id opus inter Flaminiam viam ripamque Tiberis sexto suo consulatu extruxerat circumiectasque silvas et ambulationes in usum populi iam tum publicarat.

101 Testamentum L. Planco C. Silio cons. III. Non. Apriles, ante annum et quattuor menses quam decederet, factum ab eo ac duobus codicibus partim ipsius partim libertorum Polybi et Hilarionis manu scriptum depositumque apud se virgines Vestales cum tribus signatis aeque voluminibus protulerunt. Quae omnia in senatu
2 aperta atque recitata sunt. Heredes instituit primos: Tiberium ex parte dimidia et sextante, Liviam ex parte tertia, quos et ferre nomen suum iussit; secundos: Drusum Tiberi filium ex triente, ex partibus reliquis Germanicum liberosque eius tres sexus virilis; tertio gradu propinquos amicosque compluris. Legavit populo R. quadringenties, tribubus tricies quinquies sestertium, praetorianis militibus singula milia nummorum, cohortibus urbanis quingenos, legionaris trecenos nummos; quam summam repraesentari iussit, nam et confiscatam
3 semper repositamque habuerat. Reliqua legata varie dedit perduxitque quaedam ad vicena sestertia, quibus solvendis annuum diem finiit, excusata rei familiaris mediocritate nec plus perventurum ad heredes suos quam milies et quingenties professus, quamvis viginti proximis annis quaterdecies milies ex testamentis amicorum percepisset, quod paene omne cum duobus paternis patrimoniis ceterisque hereditatibus in rem p. absumpsisset. Iulias filiam neptemque, si quid iis accidisset, vetuit

sepulcro suo inferri. Tribus voluminibus, uno mandata 4
de funere suo complexus est, altero indicem rerum a se gestarum, quem vellet incidi in aeneis tabulis quae ante Mausoleum statuerentur, tertio breviarium totius imperii, quantum militum sub signis ubique esset, quantum pecuniae in aerario et fiscis et vectigaliorum residuis. Adiecit et libertorum servorumque nomina a quibus ratio exigi posset.

NOTES

ABBREVIATIONS IN THE NOTES

A. . . . Allen and Greenough's Latin Grammar.

A. J. P. . . . The American Journal of Philology.

B. . . . Bennett's Latin Grammar.

Class. Jour. . . . Classical Journal.

Class. Philol. . . . Classical Philology.

Class. Rev. . . . Classical Review.

C. I. G. . . . Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum.

C. I. L. . . . Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum.

Drumann-Groebe. . . . Geschichte Roms.

Dürow. . . . De C. Suetonii Tranquilli Consuetudine Sermonis Quaestiones.

Freund. . . . De C. Suetonii Tranquilli Usu atque Genere Dicendi.

G. . . . Gildersleeve-Lodge, Latin Grammar.

I. M's. Hdbch. . . . Iwan von Müller's Handbuch der Klassischen Altertums-Wissenschaft.

J. C. R. . . . J. C. Rolfe, Suetonius, with an English translation.

Jour. Phil. . . . The Journal of Philology.

Lane's Gr. . . . Lane's Latin Grammar, revised edition.

M. A. . . . Monumentum Ancyranum, Th. Mommsen, 1883.

Platner, Anc. Rome. . . . S. B. Platner, Topography and Monuments of Ancient Rome, revised edition.

Res Gest. . . . Res Gestae Divi Augusti, Th. Mommsen, 1883.

Staatsr. . . . Mommsen, Das Römische Staatsrecht.

Staatsv. . . . Marquardt, Die Römische Staatsverwaltung.

T. A. P. A. . . . Transactions of the American Philological Association.

Thes. Ling. Lat. . . . Thesaurus Linguae Latinae.

NOTES

The Lives of the Caesars were divided in the MSS. into eight books:

Book 1 — Julius.	Book 5 — Claudius.
Book 2 — Augustus.	Book 6 — Nero.
Book 3 — Tiberius.	Book 7 — Galba, Otho, Vitellius.
Book 4 — Caligula.	Book 8 — Vespasian, Titus, Domitian.

The whole series was dedicated to C. Septicius Clarus, Suetonius's patron, an intimate friend of Pliny the Younger, addressed in the first letter of Pliny's Correspondence. He held the office of praetorian prefect under Hadrian, 119–121 A.D.

The dedication and the beginning of the text are lost. They appear in no MS. All the existing MSS. begin at the same point.

JULIUS

Chapter 1. Early Life

Page 1. 1. **Annum agens sextum decimum**: it has been generally supposed that Julius Caesar was born July 12, 100 B.C., but Mommsen argues from the dates when he held his magistracies that he must have been born in 102 B.C. There is no record of any privilege granted him to hold office before the legal age. His first consulship was in 59 B.C., and if he was then forty-three, he must have been born in 102. See *The Year of Caesar's Birth*, by Monroe E. Deutsch, *Transactions of the American Philological Association*, xlv, 17. **patrem amisit**: if we assume 100 B.C. as the date of his birth, then he lost his father in 85 B.C. when Cinna was consul the third time, with Carbo as his colleague. Pliny (*N. H.* VII. 181) makes a curious statement: *Nullis evidentibus causis obiere dum calciantur matutino duo Caesares, praetor et praetura perfunctus dictatoris Caesaris pater, hic Pisis exanimatus, ille Romae.* The praetor referred to was Lucius; the dictator's father, the ex-praetor, was Gaius Julius Caesar. **sequentibusque consulibus**: *i.e.* 83 B.C. (or 85).

2. flamen Dialis: the chief of the greater flamens: the others were the *Martialis* and *Quirinalis;* there were a dozen or more minor flamens. The rules for conduct, dress, and mode of life were excessively burdensome and strict in the case of the *flamen Dialis.* They are given in detail by Aulus Gellius (X. 15), and the formalities of election are described by Tacitus (*Ann.* IV. 16) and Dio (LIV. 36. 1). In regard to Caesar's nomination Velleius Paterculus (II. 43) says: *cum paene puer a Mario Cinnaque flamen Dialis creatus, victoria Sullae, qui omnia ab iis acta fecerat irrita, amisisset id sacerdotium,* etc. Marius died in 86 B.C.; Cinna, 84 B.C. It was to succeed L. Cornelius Merula that Caesar was nominated. Marius had married Caesar's aunt. Merula had committed suicide when Marius and Cinna returned to power in 87 B.C. The office was not filled until seventy-five years later (Tacitus says seventy-two), when Augustus inaugurated a *flamen Dialis* in 11 B.C. (Tac., *Ann.* III. 58). See Warde Fowler, *An Unnoticed Trait in the Character of Julius Caesar, Classical Review,* XXX (1916), page 69. The trait is Caesar's life-long interest in *caerimonia,* antiquarianism, and ritual. **destinatus**: this word well expresses the intention of the rulers of Rome, who for the time had complete mastery. Formally the *flamen* was chosen by the Pontifex Maximus from candidates nominated by the college of Pontiffs.

3. Cossutia: her family never attained prominence. **familia equestri**: ablative of quality coördinated with the following adjective *dives.* **praetextato**: sc. *ei* or *Caesari;* the expression is not precise because the age of exchanging the *toga praetexta* for the *toga virilis* varied. It would hardly be earlier than fourteen or later than eighteen years.

4. quater consulis: *quater* is attributive to *consulis;* Introd. II. § 6. *a.; who was four times consul.* Cinna's fourth consulship was in 84 B.C.; *in his fourth consulship* would be *quartum* or *quarto consulis.*

5. mox: in Silver Latin, *afterward,* not 'soon'. Julia was born in 83 or 82 B.C. She was Caesar's only legitimate child, and was married to Pompey in 59 B.C. She died in 54 B.C.

6. repudiaret: the formal renunciation of the marriage relation, addressed by one of the parties to the other, was called *repudium.* **dictatore Sulla**: note that the title precedes the name in this case, reversing the usual order; Introd. II. § 10. *b.* (1).

7. Quare . . . multatus: this does not all refer to one date, but all the penalties are summed up together. Caesar may not have been formally proscribed, but he was arbitrarily punished for his refusal to obey the orders of Sulla.

9. e medio: *from the public view;* he was forced to hide himself. **quamquam . . . adgravante**: note the use of the concessive particle even though by itself the participle would have a certain concessive force. *Quamvis* is not often used in this way by Suetonius. **quartanae**: sc. *febris;* Introd. II. § 3. *b*.

12. donec: always *until* in Suetonius, never 'so long as'. **per virgines Vestales**: it was their recognized right to intercede for afflicted persons, especially for those condemned to death; cf. Cic., *pro Fonteio*, 46. [17. 36]; Suet., *Tib.* 2. 4; *Vit.* 16; Tac., *Ann.* XI. 32. 5; *Hist.* III. 81. **perque**: Suetonius is fond of joining *-que* to prepositions; Introd. II. § 6. *k*. **Mamercum Aemilium** (*Lepidum Livianum*): this praenomen is peculiar to the *gens Aemilia*. He was consul in 77 B.C. with D. Brutus. When *legatus* of Pompey, in the Marsic war, he routed the Italians. (Cic., *Brut.* XLVII. 175; Liv., *Ep.* LXXVI.)

13. (*M.*) **Aurelium Cottam**: consul in 74 B.C. with L. Lucullus (Cic., *in Verr.* V. 13. 34).

15. ornatissimis = *honoratissimis.*

16. denegasset: sc. *veniam.* **expugnatum**: *prevailed upon.*

17. divinitus: adverb coördinate with the ablative *aliqua coniectura;* Introd. II. § 10. *a*.

18. vincerent ac sibi, etc.: indirect imperatives. Whether there is any truth in this story or not, it illustrates a certain careless arrogance, characteristic of Sulla in the days of his power.

Page 2. **2. Caesari . . . inesse**: Introd. II. § 4. *j*.

Chapter 2. Military Service

3. Stipendia prima: it was customary and, indeed, obligatory for young men intending to enter upon the senatorial *cursus honorum* to qualify themselves for the lowest office by serving a campaign or two in the army, usually as members of a commander's staff, *contubernales*, so called because they lived in the commander's tent, while learning from him the art of war. **Asia**: the province of Asia, acquired by Rome under the will of Attalus III. of Pergamos, in 133 B.C. **Marci Thermi**: of the *gens Minucia.* Aurelius Victor (82) says: *Contubernalis Thermo in Asiam profectus.* This Thermus is not to be confounded with Quintus Minucius Thermus, who was a partisan of Pompey in the Civil War. (Caes., *B. C.* I. 12; Flor., IV. 2. 19; Luc., II. 463; Plut., *Cato Minor*, XXVII.) This Thermus was propraetor in 81 B.C. and went to Asia with L. Murena, Sulla's legate.

4. ad accersendam classem: to get the aid of the Bithynian fleet for the Romans who were besieging Mytilene.

5. Nicomeden: surnamed Philopator, expelled from his kingdom by Mithradates, restored to it by the Romans, to whom he left it when he died without heirs in 74 B.C. (App., *Mithr.* VII). **non sine**: a favorite litotes with Suetonius; Introd. II. § 10. *k*. **rumore**: this malignant gossip was very probably invented long afterward by Caesar's enemies; such stories were common in antiquity. They can hardly be proved or disproved. Suetonius has a morbid relish for scandal.

6. pudicitiae: Introd. II. § 4. *d*.

7. repetita Bithynia: *his return to Bithynia.* **per causam**: = *per speciem; on the pretext;* Introd. II. § 5. *n*. (3).

8. cuidam libertino: some understand this dative as equivalent to the ablative with *a*, *owed by a certain freedman.* It is more natural to understand *owed to a certain freedman.* Caesar would then be prosecuting a claim for his client, not demanding a debt from him.

9. Reliqua militia: ablative of time; but it may be the subject of *fuit*.

10. Mytilenarum: the only city in Asia which continued its armed resistance after the defeat of Mithradates in the first Mithradatic war. The siege began in 81 B.C.; the city was taken and sacked in 80 B.C. **corona civica**: see Classical Dictionary, Art. *corona*. The *corona civica*, which ranked second to the *corona obsidionalis*, or wreath of grass, was composed of oak leaves, and was the reward for saving the life of a citizen in battle. In the earliest times it was bestowed by the rescued person upon his rescuer. The winning of this crown carried with it certain permanent public honors, and certain claims upon the rescued person (Plin., *N. H.* XXII. 3. (4). 8; Plut., *Quaest Rom.* 92).

Chapter 3. Return to Rome

11. (*P.*) Servilio (*Vatia*) Isaurico: consul with Appius Claudius Pulcher in 79 B.C., and father of Caesar's colleague in 48 B.C. **brevi tempore**: he returned to Rome before the end of 78 B.C., on hearing of Sulla's death. As to the construction see B. 231, 1; A. 424, *b*; G. 393, 2.

12. spe: Introd. II. § 4. *t*. **novae dissensionis**: referring to the reaction attempted by Lepidus, who wished to repeal the acts of Sulla, but was baffled by Catulus, his fellow consul, and by Pompey.

14. quamquam: with the subjunctive as on page 27, line 22: Introd. II. § 8. *g*.

16. diffisus: with ablatives. **minorem opinione**: brachylogy.

Chapter 4. Début at the Bar. Adventure with Pirates

18. (*Cn.*) **Cornelium Dolabellam**: consul B.C. 81 with M. Tullius Decula, afterward governed Macedonia and celebrated a triumph over the Thracians (Cic., *in Pison.* XIX). He is to be distinguished from the propraetor of Cilicia whose legate was Verres (Cic., *in Verr.* I. 4; II. 1. 15). He was defended by C. Aurelius Cotta and Hortensius (Cic., *Brut.* 92. 317; Valer. Max., VIII. 9. 3; Plut., *Caes.* IV). There is disagreement as to the date of this prosecution. Plutarch agrees with Velleius Paterculus (II. 43) and Tacitus (*Dial.* 34). The statement of Suetonius puts it in B.C. 77, when Caesar was 23. Tacitus says: *uno et vicensimo* (*anno*).

19. triumphalem: unusual as a noun, without *vir;* some MSS. add *virum;* cf. page 63, line 31. **repetundarum postulavit**: prosecuted him under Sulla's law (82–79 B.C.). The *quaestio de repetundis* was one of the nine *quaestiones*, or permanent criminal courts established by Sulla. It was a recognized custom for young nobles to make their *début* in public life by prosecuting some prominent politician. Rome had no magistrates charged with the duty of instituting proceedings in such cases. The genitive, instead of the ablative with *de*, is post-Augustan.

20. absolutoque: sc. *Dolabella;* the omission of the subject of the ablative absolute is rather harsh; Introd. II. § 9. *a.* (5). **et ad declinandam . . . et ut**, etc.: note the coördination of the different final constructions; Introd. II. § 10. *a.*

21. Apollonio Moloni: the father's name Molo is attached to the son's, Apollonius, like a modern surname. Some would read *Molonis.* This Apollonius Molo was also Cicero's teacher. Plutarch places this period of study after Caesar's capture by the pirates and before his prosecution of Dolabella. We can hardly determine from this whether Caesar actually spent any time with Molo, or only intended to do so.

23. dum . . . traicit: *dum*, 'while', is normally used by Suetonius.

24. Pharmacussam insulam: a small island near the coast of Asia above Miletus; not to be confounded with the two islets between Attica and Salamis. **a praedonibus**: Plutarch's version of the story (*Caes.* II) is somewhat different. Valerius Maximus (VI. 9. 15) agrees with this. In regard to the prevalence of piracy in the Mediterranean at this period, read App., *Mithr.* XCII. sqq. The subjugation of these pirates was one of Pompey's brilliant achievements.

25. non sine: cf. *non sine rumore*, page 2, line 5, and note.

26. cum uno . . . duobus: chiastic order.

27. servosque ceteros: *and his other attendants, who were slaves.*

expediendas: = *comparandas*; cf. Caes., *B. G.* VII. 36, *rem frumentariam expedisset.*

28. Numeratis: nothing is said of the return of the messengers.

29. quinquaginta talentis: Plutarch tells how he laughed at the pirates for asking only twenty talents (*Caes.* II).

30. classe deducta: from the harbor of Miletus. **abeuntis ac redactos**: sc. *piratas.*

31. supplicio: cf. page 36, line 6; see also Plutarch (*Caes.* II.) and Velleius Paterculus (II. 42).

Page 3. **2. ab Rhodo**: notice the preposition; cf. *ab Alexandria*, page 18, line 12; *A Brundisio*, page 30, line 30; often used of departure from a port; Introd. II. § 5. *a.* (2). **transiit in Asiam**, etc.: this was a rather high-handed proceeding for a private citizen and a young man. It reflected upon the capacity and energy of the governor Junius.

4. nutantis: figurative.

Chapter 5. Takes the Popular Side in Politics

5. Tribunatu: ablative of time. **primus**: note its separation from its noun *honor.* **reverso**: sc. *ei* or *Caesari.* **per suffragia populi**: 24 military tribunes were elected annually in the *comitia tributa* (at least after 207 B.C.). These sufficed for four legions; others were appointed by the consuls or by commanders of armies.

6. restituendae tribuniciae potestatis: this was accomplished in the consulship of Pompey and Crassus, 70 B.C., when the arrangement of Sulla was reversed. There are many references in literature to this restoration of the tribunes to their powers.

7. Sulla deminuerat: Liv., *Ep.* LXXXIX; App., *B. C.* I. 100. **enixissime**: a rare superlative.

8. L. etiam Cinnae: a bold collocation of *etiam*, between the two parts of a name; cf. *Aulo etiam Hirtio*, page 86, line 1. **et qui**: = *et eis qui*; Introd. II. § 10. *d.* (2).

9. post necem: a curious expression, for Lepidus died a natural death in Sardinia (App., *B. C.* I. 107). This use of *nex* is "post-Augustan and rare". **consulis**: he had been consul in 78 B.C.; his death occurred in 77 B.C.

10. reditum . . . contionem: note the chiastic order. **reditum in civitatem**: noun modified by a prepositional phrase; cf. *accessum ad insulam*, page 30, line 28; *urgentibus de Pharnace nuntiis*, page 18, line 13; *perpauca a se verba*, page 43, line 30. **rogatione**

Plotia: a bill proposed by Plotius or Plautius, tribune of the plebs, not to be confounded with his *lex iudiciaria*, or *lex de vi*, of 89 B.C.; see Gell., XIII. 3. 5.

Chapter 6. Quaestor, 67 or 68 B.C.

12. Quaestor: he was elected in 68 or 69 B.C. and went into Further Spain the next year. **Iuliam . . . Corneliam**: chiastic order; Julia was the widow of Marius, and the sister of Caesar's father. Cornelia, Caesar's wife, was Cinna's daughter (page 1, line 4). This is the earliest recorded instance of a funeral eulogy pronounced over a young woman, as Plutarch remarks (*Caes.* V. 2).

13. laudavit e more pro rostris: cf. Polyb., VI. 53, 54; Liv., V. 50. 7; this honor was paid to matrons after the Gallic invasion of 390 B.C.

14. de eius ac patris sui utraque origine: pleonasm; Introd. II. § 10. *e.*

19. Marcii Reges: the mother of Caesar's father and aunt Julia was Marcia, wife of C. Julius Caesar and sister of Q. Marcius Rex, consul in 118 B.C. *Rex* was a proper name and no more proved royalty than "King" in English. **a Venere Iulii**: the legend of the descent of the Iulii from Iulus, son of Aeneas, son of Anchises and Venus, is the one made familiar to us by Vergil, and officially adopted when the Iulii became an imperial dynasty; cf. the reference to the temple of Venus Genetrix in Chap. 61. See Warde Fowler's article cited in note to page 1, line 2.

22. caerimonia: *reverence.*

24. Pompeiam: daughter of Q. Pompeius Rufus, who married a daughter of Sulla.

25. divortium: it was really a *repudium*, being an *ex parte* act, but *divortium* is used in this sense as well as more strictly of an agreement to separate. The occurrence was in 62 B.C., when Caesar was praetor.

26. Publio Clodio: the notorious tribune and demagogue, Cicero's bitter enemy.

27. inter: Introd. II. § 5. *l.* (2). **publicas caerimonias**: the mysteries of the Bona Dea, to which women only were admitted (Plut., *Caes.* IX). They were celebrated at the houses of praetors or consuls on May 1, at night. Caesar was not only a praetor, but had been elected *pontifex maximus* in 63 B.C. See also chap. 74. 2.

29. quaestionem: a special commission, appointed to try this case, an "extraordinary" court, not one of the permanent tribunals (Cic., *ad Att.* I. 13. 3).

Chapter 7. In Further Spain

A very long sentence, yet quite clear.

30. Quaestori: resuming the narrative interrupted at the beginning of chap. 6. His service was under Antistius Vetus (Vell. Paterc., II. 43), whose son he afterward took to the same province as quaestor when he himself was propraetor. **ulterior**: *i.e. trans Hiberum.* **obvenit**: the quaestorships were assigned by lot.

31. praetoris: strictly *propraetoris;* at this period a praetor spent his first year at Rome presiding over a court of law; the second year he spent as propraetor governing a province. **iure dicundo**: dative; Lane's Gr. 501; B. 191, 3; 339, 7; A. 505, *b*; G. 429, 1; Introd. II. § 4. *g*. He was thus not merely a financial officer, but was exercising judicial functions as the praetor's deputy. The acquisition and organization of the two Spanish provinces led to the increase of the praetors, from four to six, in 198 B.C. **conventus**: the provincial assizes. Caesar several times mentions them in his "Gallic War" (I. 54; V. 2; VIII. 46); cf. page 15, line 15 and page 29, line 30.

32. apud: *at.* **Herculis**: *i.e.* the Phoenician Melkart, to whom Hannibal paid his vows (Liv., XXI. 21. 9).

Page 4. **1. Magni Alexandri**: Suetonius always prefixes *Magnus* when mentioning Alexander and Pompey the Great; Introd. II. § 10. *b*. (2). Alexander claimed descent from Heracles. **pertaesus**: transitive; Introd. II. § 4. *n*.

2. nihil dum a se memorabile actum esset: notice the interlocked order.

3. in aetate: = *in ea aetate;* notice *in* with the ablative of time; G. 394; Introd. II. § 5. *k*. (2). (*a*). Caesar was now about thirty-three, the age at which Alexander died, after a reign of twelve years and seven months.

4. missionem: like Marius, who *a Metello petundi* (sc. *consulatus*) *gratia missionem rogat* when serving under Metellus in the war against Jugurtha (Sall., *Jug.* LXIV. 1).

7. per: *during;* Introd. II. § 5. *n*. (2). **coiectores**: cf. Quint. III. 6. 30: *etiam somniorum atque ominum interpretes coniectores vocantur.*

10. non alia esset quam terra, quae, etc.: cf. Liv., I. 56. 12, *scilicet quod ea communis mater omnium mortalium esset.*

Chapter 8. Political Agitations

Notice the participial constructions in this sentence.

11. **ante tempus**: before the expiration of his year of office, and before the arrival of his successor.

12. **colonias Latinas**: the Transpadane Gauls had received Latin rights (*ius Latii*, *Latinitas*) during the Marsic war, by a law of Pompeius Strabo, father of Pompey the Great, in 89 B.C. They were eager for the full Roman franchise, which they finally received from Caesar, when dictator.

13. **consules**: C. Calpurnius Piso and M'. Acilius Glabrio. This was the year when the Gabinian law was passed, giving Pompey command against the pirates, whose chief stronghold was Cilicia.

14. **ob id ipsum**: *i.e.* to check any rising of the "*coloniae Latinae*".

Chapter 9. Suspected of Conspiracy

16. **ante paucos dies quam**, etc.: Introd. II. § 8. *d*, and see note to page 23, line 12, *prius quam*. Notice the separation of *ante* and *quam*; they are separate words in Suetonius even when no other words intervene. **aedilitatem**: this was the curule aedileship, in 65 B.C. His colleague was M. Calpurnius Bibulus. **in suspicionem conspirasse**: cf. page 44, line 26, *Suspicionem . . . neque voluisse . . . neque curasse*; this construction is found in Cicero.

17. **Marco Crasso**: colleague of Pompey as consul in 70 B.C., and later a member of the First Triumvirate.

18. **Publio Sulla et L. Autronio**: elected consuls for 65 B.C., they were condemned for bribery and never entered office. L. Aurelius Cotta and L. Manlius Torquatus, the latter the father of their prosecutor, were elected in their place. P. Sulla was a nephew of the dictator.

19. **ambitus**: illegal canvassing, especially bribery; a *lex Acilia Calpurnia de ambitu* had been carried by the consuls of 67 B.C. **ut . . . adorirentur**: in *Claud.* 37, Suetonius uses the infinitive with *conspirare: cum . . . conspirassent perdere.*

20. **trucidatis**: sc. *eis*; Introd. II. § 9. *a*. (5).

21. **ipse**: sc. *Caesar.*

23. **huius coniurationis**: this was the so-called first conspiracy of Catiline. Caesar's connection with it is doubtful.

24. **Tanusius Geminus**: a little known author of Cicero's generation, who wrote of his own times. The statement below is the only

known quotation from his writings. **Marcus Bibulus**: Caesar's colleague in the curule aedileship. The reference may perhaps be to the later edicts of his consulship, 59 B.C., when he was again Caesar's colleague, when Cicero in his letters ridiculed the "Archilochian edicts of Bibulus" (*ad Att.* II. 19, 20, 21).

25. Curio pater: C. Scribonius Curio, consul in 77 B.C., a well-known orator, the father of Caesar's clever and unscrupulous partisan.

26. ad Axium epistula: see Tyrrell and Purser, *Correspondence of Cicero*, Vol. VI, fragm. XII, page 308.

29. diem . . . obisse: not in the usual sense of *diem obire* but in the generic sense *keep his engagement on the day appointed*, as we say colloquially, "come to time".

30. dari convenerat: *it had been agreed should be given.*

32. de umero: from the left shoulder; the toga was worn over the left and under the right shoulder. **sed et**: *and what is more;* Introd. II. § 6. *e.* **M. Actorius Naso**: this author is known only by this citation and that on page 26, line 21.

Page 5. **1. auctores sunt conspirasse**: cf. page 8, line 25: *auctores Bibulo fuerunt . . . pollicendi;* where the meaning of *auctores* is quite different. Note the tense of *sunt;* Introd. II. § 7. *a.*

5. Ambranos: even if this is assumed as the correct reading, the identification is quite uncertain. They may possibly be the remnants of predatory Gauls, destroyed, for the most part, by Marius (Liv., *Epit.* LXVIII; Eutrop., V. 1; Oros., V. 6; Plut., *Mar.* XVIII and XIX).

Chapter 10. Curule aedile, 65 B.C.

7. basilicas: those existing at this time were the Sempronia, Aemilia et Fulvia, Porcia, Opimia.

8. ornavit: *i.e.* for the public games which were exhibited during his term of office; the decorations in such cases were pictures, statues or other works of art, borrowed for the purpose, often from provinces or allied cities. **ad tempus**: *temporary.*

10. Venationes: these wild beast hunts formed part of the *ludi Circenses;* the trouble taken by the magistrates is illustrated by the correspondence between Cicero, when governor of Cilicia, and Caelius Rufus, then curule aedile (Cic., *ad Fam.* VIII. 9. 3; II. 11. 2). **ludosque**: perhaps especially *ludi scaenici*, dramatic exhibitions; cf. chap. 39; the production of plays was part of the business of the aediles. **separatim**: Introd. II. § 1. *f.*

12. gratiam: *credit.* **collega . . . Bibulus**: notice that the common noun precedes the proper; Introd. II. § 10. *b.* (1).

14. aedes . . . Castoris: in the southern part of the Forum, on the Sacra Via. Its *podium* and three beautiful Corinthian columns with their entablature are still one of the most conspicuous landmarks in the Forum. The original temple, according to the legend, was vowed in 496 B.C., and built in 484 B.C., after the battle of Lake Regillus. A later building was erected by L. Caecilius Metellus Delmaticus after his triumph in 117 B.C. The remains that we see are part of the building of Tiberius, which was restored under Trajan or Hadrian. It was officially known as the temple of Castor or "the Castors".

17. gladiatorium munus: an exhibition of gladiators was called a *munus* because it was a gift to the people by the exhibitor (*editor*); or possibly because it was originally a tribute of respect (*officium*) toward a deceased person, in whose honor the games were celebrated. It was in connection with public funerals that such exhibitions were first given. The first recorded occasion at Rome was in 264 B.C. Later the practice became a mere popular amusement and a means of bidding for popular favor for those who were in office or who intended to seek office. Aediles, of course, aspired to the praetorship. If patricians, they were excluded from the chance of winning favor as plebeian tribunes.

18. paucioribus . . . paribus: notice the separation; as to the number, Plutarch says he exhibited 320 pairs (*Caes.* V).

19. familia: this word is strictly correct because, as a rule, the gladiators were the slaves of the exhibitor, or else hired by him from their owner. Some were captives taken in war, some were criminals condemned to the arena, some were free men who had voluntarily adopted what was regarded as a degrading profession.

Chapter 11. Restoration of the Trophies of Marius

23. ut . . . daretur: substantive clause after *temptavit;* Introd. II. § 8. *l.* **provincia**: this means the sphere of action or duty assigned to a magistrate or promagistrate with *imperium.* It was not necessarily a part of the territory inside the empire. Egypt was still a nominally and legally independent kingdom. In this case the plan was that Caesar should be sent with an army to restore or confirm in his title to the throne Ptolemy XI, Auletes. **plebi scito**: notice the form *plebi*, for *plebei*, in this combination: — the words became a single compound. A *plebiscitum* was a law passed by the *concilium tributim plebis*,

which, by virtue of the *Lex Hortensia*, of 287 B.C., had full statutory validity. The tendency at this period was to refer to the plebeian assembly many matters of administration and foreign policy which in the best days of the republic had been left in the hands of the senate. Famous instances of this practice are the *Lex Manilia*, the *Lex Gabinia* and the *Lex Vatinia*.

24. extraordinarii imperii: it was exceptional, though not unprecedented, to grant proconsular or propraetorian *imperium* to one who had been neither consul nor praetor. One readily recalls such instances as that of Scipio in the second Punic war and Pompey in the war against the Marian party, who were appointed to command armies without having held an office which involved *imperium*.

25. regem . . . expulerant: it was expected that the officer who restored Ptolemy to his throne and protected him against his disaffected subjects by armed force would reap a very rich reward.

26. res: the action of the Alexandrians. **vulgo**: by the Romans. **Nec**: = *nec tamen*; Introd. II. § 6. *j*.

29. tropaea: though the word is Greek, these trophies were not, like the Greek ones, erected on the battle field, but were set or hung up on the Capitol. **de Iugurtha**: the Numidian king brought captive to Rome in 106 B.C. **deque Cimbris atque Teutonis**: referring to the great victories of Aquae Sextiae, 102 B.C., and Vercellae, 100 B.C. Note the favorite trick of attaching the *-que* to a preposition; Introd. II. § 6. *k*; *de Iugurtha*, *deque Cimbris*, etc., form abbreviated attributives to *tropaea*; Introd. II. § 5. *i*. (2); cf. page 18, line 19, *laus de tam inbelli genere*.

30. a Sulla disiecta: on Sulla's return from Asia in 83 B.C., which was followed by the downfall of the Marian party. **in exercenda . . . quaestione**: this implies that Caesar had been made *iudex quaestionis*, *i.e.* president of one of the nine permanent criminal courts (*quaestiones perpetuae*), established under the laws of Sulla, viz.: De Repetundis, Maiestatis, De Sicariis et Veneficis, De Parricidio, Peculatus, Ambitus, De Nummis Adulterinis, De Falsis or Testamentaria, De Vi Publica. There being two praetors for civil jurisdiction, the other six had these courts assigned to them; it was necessary either to give more than one *quaestio* to a praetor, or else to appoint presidents (*iudices quaestionis*) for three of the courts. Caesar was an ex-aedile at this time.

31. numero habuit: *i.e.* 'he treated as', etc.

32. proscriptione: ablative of time. **relata . . . capita**: this may perhaps be taken in a literal sense; the slayers of proscribed persons often brought their victims' heads as proof of their claim to the reward offered.

Page 6. 2. **Cornelis legibus**: but one law is meant, that by which the proscription was authorized. By this *lex Cornelia* the proscribed were outlawed and killing them was legalized.

Chapter 12. The Prosecution of Rabirius, 63 B.C.

3. **Subornavit**: sc. *T. Attium Labienum*, then tribune of the *plebs*, and afterward the noted *legatus* of Caesar in Gaul. His uncle, Q. Labienus, had been a partisan of Saturninus, and it was under the pretext of avenging him that the nephew prosecuted Rabirius for *perduellio*. This was in 63 B.C. **Gaio Rabirio**: he was defended by Hortensius and by Cicero, then consul, whose speech is still extant. Thirty-seven years before he had been one of the crowd involved in the killing of Saturninus after the latter had been declared an outlaw by the Senate, 100 B.C. **perduellionis**: this prosecution was a revival of an antiquated procedure. The offense was treason or war against the state, manifested by slaying one of the citizens. One recalls the case of Horatius (Liv. I. 26), where the procedure is described; cf. also the case of M. Manlius (Liv. VI. 20. 12). See Warde Fowler, in *Classical Review*, XXX, page 68. **diem diceret**: *impeached, indicted, formally accused*; Introd. II. § 1. *c*.

6. **sorte iudex . . . ductus**: it is said by Dio (XXXVII. 26, 27) that Gaius and Lucius Caesar were appointed *duumviri perduellionis* by the praetor presiding at the trial. P. Metellus Celer, praetor and augur at the time, saved the life of Rabirius by lowering the flag on the Janiculan Hill. This in primitive times signified the approach of the Etruscans. The assembly at once adjourned and the proceeding was not resumed. The object of it was to intimidate the *optimates*, and that object had been sufficiently attained.

Chapter 13. Election as Pontifex Maximus, 63 B.C.

9. **Deposita provinciae spe**: this must refer to his plan in regard to Egypt described in chap. 2. **pontificatum maximum**: Caesar's election was on March 6, 63 B.C. His competitors were Q. Catulus and P. Servilius Isauricus, men of mature age and high standing, supported by all the influence the *optimates* could bring to bear. The *pontifex maximus* was elected by 17 of the 35 tribes, chosen by lot for the occasion.

10. **non sine**: cf. note to page 2, line 5.

11. aeris alieni: on Caesar's enormous debts see chap. 18, and notes.

12. matri: his mother Aurelia was evidently a woman of much force and nobility of character.

Chapter 14. Praetor Elect, 63 B.C.

17. Praetor creatus: elected at the *comitia* of 63, to serve for the year 62 B.C. He was therefore *praetor designatus* at the time of the detection of Catiline's conspiracy.

19. municipatim: rather an odd adverb, formed from the noun *municipium*; Suetonius is fond of adverbs in *-tim*, *-atim*. See Introd. II. § 1. *f*. The *municipia* were free towns, whose *status* varied, but in general it may be said that originally their citizens (*municipes*) were Roman *cives sine suffragio*, *i.e.* they had the rights of Roman private law — as to property, wills, marriages, etc., but not the rights of public law, the right of voting in the Roman *comitia* and the right of being elected to a Roman magistracy.

24. interpretatione lenire: *to put a milder construction upon.*

25. velut . . . exceptam: Introd. II. § 6. *m*. **gravius atque**: *atque* for *quam* with a comparative is noteworthy; Introd. II. § 6. *c*. **Obtinuisset**: no object is expressed but it is involved in the thought of the first sentence of the chapter. Translate: *he would have prevailed.*

26. adeo: *in fact.* **Cicerone**: Quintus Cicero, who afterward served as Caesar's legate in Gaul.

29. quoad: *until*, in this sense takes the indicative in Suetonius, or the subjunctive by attraction.

30. inmoderatius: this "absolute" use of the comparative is very common in Suetonius; it is often combined with *paulo* or *aliquanto*.

32. sedentem . . . deseruerint: this is like the experience of Catiline when denounced by Cicero (*Cat.* I. 7).

Page 7. **2. in**: Introd. II. § 5. *k*. (1). (*b*). **reliquum anni tempus**: *i.e.* from the Nones (5th) of December, when the debate upon the fate of the conspirators occurred. But Plutarch says that he did come into the Senate after a time.

Chapter 15. Praetor, 62 B.C.

4. Primo praeturae die: January 1. **Quintum** (*Lutatium*) **Catulum**: the son of Marius's colleague, the conqueror of the Cimbri. He had just been defeated by Caesar in the election for *pontifex Maxi-*

mus, and tried to get Caesar's name included in the list of Catilinarian conspirators. Hence Caesar had a grudge against him. He was consul in 78 B.C. **de refectione Capitoli**: the Capitol, *i.e.* the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, "*Optimus Maximus*", had been burned in 83 B.C. in the civil wars. Catulus had been commissioner for the rebuilding of it since Sulla's death. Caesar's attempt failing, Catulus's name was associated with the restored Capitol, which remained until it was again burned in the war between Vespasian and Vitellius, 69 A.D.: *Lutatii Catuli nomen inter tanta Caesarum opera usque ad Vitellium mansit* (Tac., *Hist.* III. 72).

6. **curationem eam**: refers to *refectione*, above; *illam* would perhaps be more normal. At page 68, line 13, *honorem eum* refers to *consulatus*, two lines above it. **in alium**: viz.: to Pompey. **transferebat**: conative.

7. **conspirationi**: *combination, united opposition.*

8. **novorum consulum**: D. Junius Silanus and L. Licinius Murena. **officio**: = *salutatione*, "paying one's respects ('duty')". This was the ceremonious visit of congratulation to the new consuls on the day of their inauguration; see page 61, line 21 and note; or else it means the escorting of the new consuls in procession to the Capitol, to offer the inaugural sacrifice to *Jupiter Capitolinus.*

Chapter 16. The same, *continued*

11. **Caecilio Metello** (*Nepoti*): Cicero's enemy, who prevented his speech to the people on laying down his consulship. He brought forward a bill to recall Pompey with his army from the East, to protect the citizens. In the excitement caused thereby he was deposed by the Senate and fled to Pompey. Caesar, probably insincerely, supported the proposal in order to flatter Pompey and worry the *optimates.*

12. **collegarum intercessionem**: Metellus was opposed especially by C. Cato, one of the tribunes.

14. **donec . . . submoverentur**: late in the history of the Republic, the Senate by a strain of its powers claimed the right of suspending a magistrate and even a tribune from his office.

16. **ut**: *as soon as;* Suetonius does not use *ubi primum* and *cum primum* in this sense. **vi ac per arma**: instead of the familiar *vi et armis;* Introd. II. § 5. *n.* (3).

17. **lictoribus**: a praetor was attended by two lictors in the city, by six in the provinces.

18. praetexta : sc. *toga;* the purple stripe on the toga was the badge of curule office.

19. biduo post : *on the next day;* see J. C. Rolfe in *Class. Philol.* VIII (1913); cf. page 22, line 17; page 51, line 11.

21. praeter opinionem : the Senate was agreeably surprised at Caesar's moderation.

22. festinato : adverb; post-Augustan.

25. inducto : this word is used because writing was erased by drawing the flat end of the *stilus* over the line and thus smoothing the wax surface of the tablet.

Chapter 17. The Conspiracy of Catiline

27. Novium Nigrum : probably a *quaesitor* or *iudex quaestionis*, *i.e.* chairman of a special commission appointed by the Senate to try the cases of persons suspected of complicity with Catiline; cf. note to page 5, line 30.

28. Vettio : he seems to have been a disreputable person; he appears again in 59 B.C., disclosing an alleged conspiracy against the life of Pompey; cf. page 10, lines 11–17. **Curio** : this Curius had himself been one of the conspirators and had turned informer; see Sall., *Cat.* XVII, XXIII and XXVI.

31. eius : sc. *Caesaris.*

Page 8. **2. ultro . . . detulisse** : Caesar had protected himself by giving information to Cicero before the conspiracy became generally known.

3. ne . . . darentur effecit : both purpose and result clauses are used as objects of *efficere*, the latter much oftener than the former, apparently.

4. pignoribus captis : for disrespect to authority, especially that of the higher magistrates, imprisonment and seizure of goods were regular penalties; cf. Plut., *Cato Minor*, XXXVII; Liv., III. 38. 12; Cic., *de Or.* III. 1. *Pignoris capio* is included in the *ius coercendi*, a part of the *imperium* of a magistrate. **direpta suppellectile** : doubtless by a mob, for Caesar was a popular favorite. It is to be feared that he was something of a demagogue at this period.

6. compellari : a magistrate possessing *imperium* could not be arraigned or tried during his term of office, especially not by an inferior magistrate.

7. maiorem potestatem : *a higher magistrate;* abstract for concrete.

Chapter 18. Propraetorship, 62 B.C.

8. **Ex praetura**: *ex* nearly or quite = *post.* **ulteriorem . . . Hispaniam**: sometimes spoken of, with less accuracy, as Lusitania. **sortitus**: cf. Liv., XXXIV. 55; XIV. 16. 17, for examples of *sortitio.* **retinentes creditores**: several authors allege that Caesar's debts, incurred in his political career, were enormous. Plutarch (*Caes.* V.) says they amounted to 1300 talents; cf. App., *B. C.* II. 8.

9. **sponsorum**: a sponsor was a surety, one who made himself responsible for a debtor to his creditor. M. Crassus made an arrangement at great expense to himself to satisfy Caesar's creditors for the time (Plut., *Crass.* VII; *Caes.* XI). The immense sums obtained by Caesar in his earlier career from capitalists are very strong evidence of their faith in his ultimate success as a politician.

10. **ante quam . . . ornarentur**: see note to page 23, line 11, *De qua prius quam*, etc. *Ornare* means to provide, by a vote of the Senate, the usual equipment of supplies and money for proconsuls and propraetors going out to take charge of provinces; cf. *Aug.* 36; Cic., *ad. Att.* III. 24 1, *consulum provincias ornatas esse.*

11. **incertum metune . . . an**: note the question dependent on *incertum* and cf. page 56, line 27, *imposne mentis an . . . incertum*, and page 30, line 24, *dubium cautior an audentior;* Introd. II. § 3. *d.* **privato**: when in his province and clothed with *imperium* he could not be sued or brought to trial any more than during his praetorship in the city. His object was therefore to leave no interval during which he would be a private citizen and exposed to the suits of his creditors.

12. **sociis**: the inhabitants of his province. **pacataque provincia**: he waged successful campaigns against the *Lusitani* and the *Gallaeci*, and was saluted as *imperator* by his troops. Therefore he claimed the honor of a triumph on his return to Rome, in the summer of 60 B. C., a little while before the consular elections.

15. **ratio eius haberi non posset**: lit., *account of him* (as a candidate) *could not be taken.* His candidacy could not be allowed unless he appeared and gave in his name (*professio*) as a candidate "*intra legitimos dies*", that is three *nundinae* (*trinundinum*), at least 17 days, before election. Moreover it was important for a candidate's success that he conduct a canvass of the voters in person. Caesar had either to lay down his *imperium*, in order to come into the city, and so forego his triumph, or to postpone his candidacy for the consulship, as he failed to get permission from the Senate to be a candidate without personal *professio* (*ut*

legibus solveretur). Cato was especially active in opposing the granting of Caesar's request in this matter.

16. **ambienti**: *intriguing*, trying to obtain by influence or by solicitation or bribery.

Chapter 19. Canvass for the Consulship, 60 B.C.

19. **Lucio Lucceio**: cf. Cic., *ad Att.* I. 17. 11. This is the historian to whom Cicero commended the writing of an account of his consulship. His famous letter to Lucceius on this subject is *ad Fam.* V. 12.

20. **Marco Bibulo**: Caesar's colleague in the curule aedileship, 65 B.C., and in the praetorship, 62 B.C.

22. **de suo**: out of Lucceius's own pocket, but *communi nomine*, in the name of both Lucceius and Caesar. In this way Caesar got the benefit of Lucceius's money, but Lucceius failed to profit by Caesar's popularity. **per**: distributive; Introd. II. § 5. *n*. (1).

23. **metus . . . ausurum**: for *ne auderet;* Introd. II. § 9. *b*. (1). **nihil non**: litotes; Introd. II. § 10. *k*.

25. **auctores**: with genitive gerundive; cf. page 5, line 1, *auctores sunt conspirasse*, where the meaning of *auctores* is different, and page 99, line 24, *Auctor est . . . factum* (*esse*).

26. **ne Catone quidem**: Cato was the rigid Puritan among the politicians of his age, and famous for his disapproval of all forms of corruption. This was a case of open bribery on both sides. The story illustrates the intensity of *optimate* opposition to Caesar.

28. **Igitur**: first in the sentence, as at page 65, line 17; Introd. II. § 6. *f*. **creatur**: Suetonius seldom uses the historical present; Introd. II. § 7. *b*.

29. **provinciae**: the provinces to be assigned to consuls — as proconsuls — after their year in office at Rome were regularly determined in advance by the Senate, but not assigned individually; as between colleagues the division was by agreement or by lot.

30. **minimi negotii, id est silvae callesque**: *of no importance, that is, 'mere woods and pastures'*. The meaning of *silvae callesque* is not certain, however. Some regard it as a gloss incorporated by the mistake of some copyist into the text. See the interesting article by J. C. Rolfe, *The so-called Callium Provincia*, A. J. P. XXXVI. (1915), 323.

31. **Qua maxime iniuria instinctus**: interlocked order. Of course the assignment of '*silvae callesque*' was meant to be insulting.

32. **offensum**: = *iratum*.

Page 9. 1. **Mithridate rege victo**: Pompey had come back to Rome in 62 B.C. and had disbanded his troops. The Senate had continually deferred the confirmation of his arrangements in the East, where his great conquests had been made, and also of the provisions for his veterans. Pompey naturally grew more and more irritated against the *optimates*. It was bad policy on their part; they needed Pompey's influence and prestige.

3. **ex consulatu**: they had been rivals ever since they were young officers under Sulla, and their mutual dislike had been intensified by their being consuls together in 70 B.C. Since that year Pompey had gained immense glory by his Eastern conquests and Crassus had enormously increased his wealth.

4. **societatem**: notice the epexegetical clause *ne quid ageretur;* cf. page 70, line 11, and page 102, line 13. This is the partnership known in history as the First Triumvirate, formed in the latter part of 60 B.C. Velleius (II. 44) is apparently in error when he puts it in 59 B.C.

Chapter 20. Consulship, 59 B.C.

7. **honore**: *office*. **senatus . . . diurna acta**: the publication of a journal of the Senate's proceedings was no doubt a popular measure and was therefore resented by the *optimates*. The practice was afterward discontinued and was resumed when Caesar became consul again and dictator.

9. **etiam**: = *quoque*, as often in Suetonius. **fasces**: it was the habit of the consuls to have the *fasces*, *i.e.* to be attended by lictors, twelve in number, walking in front, in alternate months.

10. **accensus**: an attendant of a magistrate, who stood ready to relieve lictors if necessary. The change made by Caesar was not in having the *accensus* go before him, but in having the lictors follow him instead of going without them when his colleague had the *fasces*.

11. **Lege . . . agraria**: this was the famous *Lex Iulia Agraria*, the chief object of which was the distribution of rich public lands in Campania to poor citizens. More land was to be bought if necessary. Twenty commissioners (*vigintiviri*) were to be named to execute the law. Cicero was invited to be one of them, but declined. **promulgata**: refers to the publishing of the text of the proposed law, to be voted on by the people. **obnuntiantem**: *i.e.* announcing that he was observing or was about to observe the sky for omens; this was the constitutional method, or legal fiction, by which a magistrate arrested the proceedings of his colleague,

or caused the assembly to be adjourned. Perhaps Bibulus reported that he had actually observed adverse omens.

13. super: = *de;* Introd. II. § 5. *r.* (1).

14. referre: to bring a question before the house, propose a subject for formal discussion and vote. This was the function of the consul with the *fasces* (and so of Caesar at this time) or of the plebeian tribunes (sometimes of praetors). Caesar would not, Bibulus could not, and the tribunes did not care or dare to bring up the subject. **censere**: refers to a senator's right, when once he had the floor, to speak outside of the question laid before the house by the presiding magistrate and so to raise other questions (*excedere relationem*). No one dared to approach this question in this way, and so it was not raised by any one and Bibulus gave up the struggle. **aliquid . . . qualia**: notice the plural relative after the indefinite singular antecedent.

16. quoad potestate abiret: see note on *quoad*, page 6, line 29. It might mean till Caesar gave up the *fasces* at the end of the month, but more probably means till Bibulus's year of office expired. As to the construction of *potestate*, see Introd. II. § 4. *u.* **domo**: ablative when one might expect the locative, or *in domo.*

17. nihil aliud: sc. *egerit;* Suetonius is very fond of *nihil aliud quam* and *nihil amplius quam* = *tantum* or *modo.* Cf. *e.g.* page 94, line 8, *nihil aliud quam vectabatur*, etc. From this point to the end of the chapter the sentences are asyndetic; Introd. II. § 10. *f.* (2).

18. Unus . . . et ad arbitrium: notice the curious coördination. **ad**: = *secundum;* Introd. II. § 5. *b.* (5); cf. *ad libidinem*, page 38, line 7.

19. urbanorum: = *facetorum.* **per iocum**: prepositional phrase equivalent to an adverb; Introd. II. § 5. *n.* (3). **cum . . . testandi gratia signarent**: *affixed their seals as witnesses to any document; cum* iterative rarely takes the subjunctive in Cicero and Caesar, oftener in Livy and later writers, almost always in Suetonius.

21. bis eundem: the contrasting words are brought together. One hopes that this phrase is a gloss. Otherwise Suetonius must have been deficient in humor. Perhaps he was.

27. Campum Stellatem: it lay, apparently, between Cales and the Volturnus, and is not to be confounded with the *ager Stellatinus* in Southern Etruria. **maioribus**: dative, in the sense of *a maioribus;* Introd. II. § 4. *h.* **consecratum**: not to the gods, but to public uses; the law, however, was sanctioned by curses upon its violators.

28. ad: expressing purpose; Introd. II. § 5. *b.* (6); cf. page 31, line 13.

29. extra sortem: the assignments were not made by lot, but by the XX viri. **ad**: adverb qualifying *viginti*.

30. Publicanos: these were the *equites* who farmed the taxes of Asia, and who wished a reduction of the amount of their bid, claiming that they were losing money under the contract which they had made. The Senate refused relief, but Caesar got a bill passed in the *Comitia*, which remitted one third of the sum they were to pay to the Treasury.

31. in locatione: ablative of time; at the beginning of the next quinquennial period, when the contracts would be renewed.

Page 10. **2. libuissent**: notice this curious use of an impersonal verb in the plural with *quae* as its subject.

3. si conaretur quis: iterative or general condition.

4. Marcum Catonem: Caesar's life-long opponent, afterward called Cato of Utica. Read this story in Gell. IV. 10. 8.

5. Lucio Lucullo: he had been jealous when Caesar carried through the ratification of Pompey's acts in Asia. Caesar now threatened him with vexatious investigations (*calumniae*) of his own conduct of the war and the provinces before Pompey took charge of them.

7. ultro: *actually*. **in iudicio quodam**: see *De Domo Sua*, XVI. 41, referring to Cicero's speech for C. Antonius (see Dio, XXXVIII. 10).

8. Publium Clodium, etc.: P. Fonteius adopted Clodius by a *lex curiata*, — 30 lictors at this period represented the ancient *curiae* — the procedure being known as *arrogatio*. The act required the sanction of the Pontifex Maximus (Caesar); he presided at the ceremony, hence the use of the word *transduxit*; there were several irregularities in connection with the proceeding, but Clodius availed himself at once of his eligibility to the tribuneship of the *plebs* and was elected for the next year.

10. hora nona: mid afternoon, when few people would be abroad. The proceeding was also very hasty; see Cic., *de Domo Sua*, XVI. 41.

11. universos diversae: the unlucky juxtaposition must have been accidental.

12. indicem: Vettius, the person mentioned in chap. 17. The verb has apparently dropped out of the text. Some editors simply change *inductum* to *induxit*. **de inferenda . . . sollicitatum**: a very unusual construction.

14. auctores: *his principals, his employers*. **ex conpacto**: cf. page 53, line 11, *conpecto*, without *ex*.

15. uno atque altero: six examples of the combination of these words are found in Suetonius; cf. *uno . . . altero*, page 24, line 15;

somewhat analogous is *semel atque iterum*, page 58, line 1, and page 61, line 30.

17. veneno: probably an error; he was, no doubt, strangled, as Cicero says (*in Vatin.* XI. 26).

Chapter 21. Marriage Alliances

18. L. (*Calpurnii*) **Pisonis** (*Caesonini*): consul in 58 B.C. with A. Gabinius.

20. Servilio Caepione: as a compensation Pompey's daughter was promised to him, though she had been betrothed to Faustus Sulla—son of the Dictator, whom, in fact, she (or a sister of hers) afterward married.

23. rogare: the magistrate presiding in the Senate called on the members to speak, first the *consulares* in order of seniority, then the *praetorii*, and so on through the lower classes of senators. **cum . . . soleret**: concessive; sc. *rogare;* Introd. II. § 10. *d.* (3).

26. toto anno: it was the custom, however, after the consular elections, to call first upon the consuls elect for their opinions during the rest of the year.

Chapter 22. Pro-consular Provinces

27. Socero: Piso; **genero**: Pompey.

28. copia: *list.* Compare chap. 19. 2 where *silvae callesque* had been assigned by the Senate to the consuls. **cuius**: singular (if reading is correct) as if *Gallias* were *provinciam;* a curious *constructio ad sensum.* **emolumento et opportunitate**: the words express the value of the province to him, as affording the likelihood of wars, spoils, and a triumph, as well as the training of an army which would be devoted to his interests.

29. sit: we should expect *esset;* Introd. II. § 7. *d.*

31. lege Vatinia: a *plebiscitum* introduced by his creature, P. Vatinius: *Lex Vatinia de Provinciis.* The term was five years, afterward prolonged to ten by the *Lex Trebonia.* **Comatam**: sc. *accepit;* *Gallia Comata* was Transalpine Gaul, which, outside the "Province", was still independent.

Page 11. 1. non temperavit quin: the construction of this verb with a *quin* clause is post-Augustan.

4. insultaturum . . . capitibus: Introd. II. § 4. *j.*

6. feminae: alluding to the scandalous story of Caesar's relations with Nicomedes; see chap. 2. **adludens**: not in the sense of our

'alluding', but *jesting* or *joining in the joke*. **Suria**: it was a very common error among the ancients to put Syria for Assyria.

7. Sameramin: Semiramis, the famous queen of Assyria. She and her husband Ninus were the mythical founders of the Assyrian empire and after his death she reigned alone.

8. Amazŏnas: the fabled nation of warrior women.

Chapter 23. Attacks of Political Enemies

9. Memmio: this is the man to whom Lucretius dedicated his great poem. **Domitio**: see note to line 23.

10. de superioris anni actis: they proposed an inquiry into the official acts of Caesar as consul. **referentibus**: construe, of course, with *Memmio* and *Domitio*.

13. quaestor eius: *i.e.* during the previous year. By prosecuting the consul's subordinate the consul's own acts would be impugned. **in praeiudicium**: to show what would happen to Caesar himself; *as a preliminary*.

14. Mox: Introd. II. § 6. *i*.

15. appellato demum collegio: *only by appealing to the college of tribunes*. **optinuit cum . . . abesset . . . ne fieret**: *i.e.* although he had not yet actually started for his province, he was about to go and he induced the tribunes to insure that he should be exempted from prosecution as if he had already left Rome 'on the business of the state' (*rei publicae causa*).

17. in magno negotio habuit: *he considered it of great importance*; cf. *minimi negotii*, page 8, line 30.

18. non alios . . . quam qui: = *eos tantum qui*.

20. sibi recepissent: *undertook*, *promised*, *guaranteed*. (*se*) **propugnaturos** (*esse*). **absentiam suam**: = *se* (*i.e. eum*) *absentem*; Introd. II. § 2. *a*; *him in his absence*.

22. syngrapham: a written acknowledgment of a debt or obligation; a bond. The name and the use were borrowed from Greek commercial practice. Eventually the *syngrapha* superseded the ancient *obligatio litteris* (by formal entry in a ledger with the debtor's assent).

Chapter 24. The First Triumvirate

23. Lucius Domitius (*Ahenobarbus*): a bitter enemy of Caesar, his most implacable foe afterward in the Civil War. He was a candidate in

56 B.C. for the consulship of 55 B.C., and was defeated by Pompey and Crassus. They, however, allowed him to be elected, with Appius Claudius Pulcher, for the next year. Moreover, he was designated by the Senate to succeed Caesar in Further Gaul in 49 B.C. His wife was Porcia, sister of Cato. At this time his purpose was to annul Caesar's legislation and deprive him of his provinces.

25. in urbem . . . Lucam: this meeting was early in 56 B.C. It is generally spoken of as the renewal of the Triumvirate for a further period. It is said that 200 senators gathered at Luca (modern Lucca) and so many magistrates that their attending lictors amounted to 120. Luca was included within the southern boundary of the province of Cis-alpine Gaul, though it lay in N. W. Etruria, near the mouth of the Arno, on the Via Cassia. It was really a Ligurian town. Augustus fixed the boundary of Liguria further north, at the Macra river, but at this time Luca was the frontier town of Caesar's province, which included Liguria.

27. detrudendi Domitii causa: bloody riots attended the consular canvass of 56 B.C. See Plut., *Pomp.* LII; *Crass.* XV; *Cat. Min.* XLI; App., *B.C.* II. 17; Dio, XXXIX. 31.

28. perfecitque † utrumque: reading doubtful; perhaps we should read a second *per* before *utrumque.* **in quinquennium . . . prorogaretur**: this was accomplished by the Lex Trebonia, a plebiscitum of 55 B.C., which also assigned the Spains to Pompey and Syria to Crassus.

30. alias . . . addidit: originally he had three legions voted to him by the people and one by the senate. He raised two more for the Helvetian Campaign, 58 B.C., and again two in 57 B.C. Now the understanding was that the state should pay these four additional legions. In 53 B.C. we find that he had ten or eleven legions.

31. vocabulo: ablative of quality.

32. Alauda: a Celtic word, perhaps meaning 'lark'. The date of the raising of this noted legion is not certain. In Augustus's revised army list it appeared as the 5th, Alauda; but it does not follow that the name and number were certainly connected earlier. See T. Rice Holmes, *Caesar's Conquest of Gaul*, 802–3; Cic., *ad Att.* XVI. 8. 2; *Phil.* XIII. 2. 3. **disciplina**: connect with *institutam*, *cultu* with *ornatam*; the former refers to military skill and training, the latter to Roman arms and dress.

Page 12. **2. civitate donavit**: as to the gift of citizenship by a general, see Greenidge, *Roman Public Life*, page 134; Abbott, *Roman*

Political Institutions, page 245. **occasione . . . abstinuit**: Introd. II. § 4. *u*.

6. **nonnulli**: including Cato, who advocated this very action. **dedendum . . . hostibus**: that is, to the Usipetes and Tencteri; see Plut., *Caes*. XXII; *Cat. Min*. LI; *Crass*. XV; Dio, XXXIX. 47. Caesar's own account of his rather sharp practice in dealing with these tribes is in the 4th book of the *Gallic War*.

8. **plurium . . . dierum**: notice the wide separation; Introd. II. § 10. *b*. (4). **quam quisquam umquam**: this collocation seems to show an extraordinary disregard of euphony.

9. **supplicationes**: on these "thanksgivings" for victories see Harper's *Classical Dictionary*, page 1508. The *supplicatio* after the defeat of the *Belgae* was for 15 days, after that of Vercingetorix for 20 days.

Chapter 25. The Conquest of Gaul, 58–50 B.C.

10. **novem annis**: 58–50 B.C.; length of time expressed by the ablative. The Civil War began in January, 49 B.C. (Roman style), before the end of Caesar's second *quinquennium*.

12. **saltu**: properly a 'forest (glade)' or a 'pass', by a kind of metonymy is sometimes used, as here, for a *range* of mountains.

13. **monte Cebenna**: the "Provincia" is thought of as bounded on the north by the Cevennes.

15. **praeter**: *excepting*.

16. $|\overline{CCCC}|$: *i.e.* HS *quadringenties centena milia*, 40 million sesterces.

17. **stipendii**: in regard to Roman taxation, see Greenidge, *Roman Public Life*, pages 319, 320. **Germanos**: referring to the two invasions of Germany, when Caesar bridged the Rhine, described in book 4 and book 6 of the *Gallic War*.

19. **Britannos**: the two invasions of Britain are described in *B.G.* IV. 20 sqq. and *B.G.* V. 1–23.

21. **nec amplius**: the best authors would say *non amplius*; cf. *nec ultra*, page 95, line 4.

22. **classe vi . . . absumpta**: twice; as described in *B. G.* IV. 28 and 29, and V. 10 and 11.

23. **ad Gergoviam**: where Caesar suffered a partial defeat by the Gauls under Vercingetorix, as related in *B.G.* VII. 44 sqq. It lay upon a vast hill which is 4 or 5 miles south of Clermont-Ferrand in Auvergne,

23. **in Germanorum finibus**: it was in the territory of the Eburones, who lived along the Mosa, now called the Maas or Meuse.

24. **Titurio** (*Sabino*) **et Aurunculeio** (*Cotta*): entrapped and slain with their troops by the treachery of Ambiorix and the Eburones (*B.G.* V. 24–37).

Chapter 26. Plans for a Second Consulship

26. **Eodem temporis spatio**: during his proconsulship in Gaul. **matrem**: Aurelia seems to have died about 54 B.C. **filiam**: Julia died in September, 54 B.C., aged 28 or 29; by the desire of the people she was honored with a public funeral and burial in the Campus Martius.

27. **nepotem**: Julia's infant, which survived her a few days only. Some authors say the child was a girl. **Inter quae**, etc.: a good example of a long but perspicuous sentence.

28. **Publi Clodi caede**: Clodius was killed by Milo at Bovillae on the Via Appia, January 20, 52 B.C. The ruins of Bovillae lie west of the northern end of the Alban Lake.

31. **ferrent**: as to the omission of *ut*, see Introd. II. § 8. *k*.

32. **expleri coepisset**: *drew near its close;* active of *coepi* with passive infinitive; Introd. II. § 9. *b*. (2). **petitio**: *the privilege of being a candidate*, in this case, without coming to Rome (*absenti*). **secundi consulatus**: for 48 B.C., after an interval of ten full years from the end of 59 B.C., the year of his first consulship.

Page 13. 2. **ut adeptus est**: *ut* means *as soon as*.

5. **Forum**: the *forum Iulium* was a court, rectangular, walled and surrounded by colonnades. Begun in 54 B.C., it was finished by Augustus. The temple of Venus Genetrix stood in its center; Platner, *Ancient Rome*^{2}, 275 f. **manubiis**: see note to page 63, line 31. **super**: adverb: Introd. II. § 5. *r*. (2). (*b*).

6. **sestertium milies**: sc. *centena milia;* 100 million sesterces, a very large sum, but private owners had to be indemnified, and some of them perhaps received exorbitant prices, as covert bribes. The forum was finished in 46 B.C. after the Civil War. (App., *B. C.* II. 102.) Pliny (*N. H.* XXXVI. 15. 103, 104) mentions some large prices paid for land. **constitit**: *cost;* Ital. *costare;* French *coûter*.

7. **in . . . memoriam**: Introd. II. § 5. *k*. (1). (*a*). **quod ante eum nemo**: sc. *pronuntiaverat* or *fecerat;* no one, that is to say, in honor of a daughter.

9. **ablocata**: *contracted for*, let out on contract to victuallers.

10. domesticatim: seemingly ἅπαξ εἰρημένον; Introd. II. § 1. *a* and *f*; *domesticatim* evidently means *in his own house.* **sicubi**: *if ever = whenever;* iterative. **infestis spectatoribus**: *with the enmity of the audience;* *i.e.* whenever the spectators turned their thumbs so as to demand the death of the gladiators in question; the gesture was called *vertere pollicem*, but whether the thumb was turned up or down is uncertain; the reverse sign was *premere pollicem;* cf. Plin., *N. H.* XXVIII. 2. 5. 25.

12. ludo . . . lanistas: *a (gladiatorial) school . . . (professional) trainers.*

17. stipendium: Caesar raised the soldier's pay to 10 asses a day; for an account of the value of the *as* and of the pay of legionary soldiers see Furneaux, note on Tac., *Ann.* I. 17. 8.

18. quotiens copia esset: *quotiens*, the most usual iterative conjunction, is used some 30 times by Suetonius with the imperfect or pluperfect subjunctive. But page 97, line 1, *quotiens . . . scribit.*

19. mancipia: prisoners of war, as slaves; an instance is mentioned in Caes., *B. G.* VII. 89. **e praeda**: this emendation of *et praedia* or *prandia* seems to be confirmed by the phrase in Caes., *B. G.* VII. 89: *ex reliquis captivis toti exercitui capita singula praedae nomine distribuit.*

Chapter 27. Arrangements with Pompey and Other Politicians

22. Octaviam: her kinship to Caesar is shown by this diagram:

Caesar (Caesar's sister) Julia m. Atius Balbus
|
Atia m. C. Octavius
|
(Augustus's sister) Octavia m. C. Marcellus
cos 50 B.C., died 41 B.C.
m. M. Antonius
41–40 B.C.

Pompey declined the offer of Octavia's hand, and married in 52 B.C. Cornelia, daughter of Metellus Scipio, and widow of young P. Crassus, who was killed at Carrhae, 53 B.C.

23. condicionem: *as a match = sponsam;* Introd. II. § 2. *a*; cf. page 82, line 16.

24. eius: sc. *Pompeii.* **Fausto . . . destinatam**: see note to page 10, line 20. Faustus was the son of Sulla, the dictator.

25. circa eum: *his 'entourage'*: Introd. II. § 5. *f.* (2).

26. gratuito: if an adjective with *faenore*, this makes a self-contradiction, or at least a very harsh zeugma, *i.e.* *faenore* = *pecunia*, or the like. It may be the adverbial use of *gratuito*, which is common enough. Carrying on a successful war, Caesar had now money enough to lend, and thus put many politicians under obligation to himself. Cf. page 70, line 18. **ex reliquo quoque**: *from every other.*

27. sponte ad se commeantis: Cicero pays an eloquent tribute to Caesar's support of humble friends in his speech, *Pro Rabirio Postumo*, 15, 16.

28. congiario: cf. page 70, line 22; *Claud.* 21. 1, *Congiaria populo saepius distribuit.* A *congius* was a liquid measure of about 3 quarts. *Congiarium* as a donation was at first a gift of oil, salt, or wine, etc.; later it was used also for a largess of money to the populace or the soldiers. **servulosque**: diminutive perhaps in the sense of 'favorite slaves'.

29. prout: always followed, in Suetonius, by the subjunctive. **qui**: *qui* M^1; *quis* M^2 X^1 Υ; *quivis* G; = *quis* in meaning.

31. unicum: this adjective, of course, admits no comparison.

Chapter 28. Attempts to recall Caesar

Page 14. 5. citra: = *sine*, as often in Silver Latin; Introd. II. § 5. *g.* (2). Cf. *ultra*, line 23 and note.

6. super: adverb, *besides*; Introd. II. § 5. *r.* (3).

10. Marcus Claudius Marcellus: two brothers and a cousin named Marcellus were consuls in 51 and 49, and in 50 B.C., respectively. This one was the consul of 51 B.C., who proposed but failed to carry a decree that Caesar should be required to give up his army and provinces on November 13th, 50 B.C., though his second *quinquennium* (*lex Trebonia*) did not expire till the end of 49 B.C. He did, however, succeed in getting a *Senatus consultum* passed, which deprived Caesar of two of his legions, under pretext of using them in the Parthian war.

11. de summa . . . re publica: *of the greatest political importance.* **rettulit**: note the construction with an *ut*-clause and a *ne*-clause as objects; Introd. II. § 8. *l.*

14. ne . . . ratio . . . haberetur: *that he should not be permitted, while absent, to be a candidate;* lit. 'that account should not be taken of him', etc.

15. nec: = *ne . . . quidem;* cf. *nec Tiberio parcit*, page 95, line 24.

plebi scito: Pompey when sole consul in 52 B.C. had allowed some of the tribunes to carry a law permitting Caesar to be a candidate while still absent from Rome. Apparently *abrogare* was used transitively in the classical period. **abrogasset**: *had annulled;* most editions read *obrogasset.* The law as passed did not contain the clause excepting Caesar from the general requirement that all candidates must be present at the time of the canvass. But it had been intended to except Caesar; therefore Pompey, after the law had been passed, inscribed on a bronze tablet, and deposited in the *aerarium*, went and made the alteration, inserting the clause in Caesar's favor. Marcellus held that he had no right to do so, and that the law, without the exception, was still in force. His opinion was apparently correct.

16. capite: *clause* or *chapter.* For the absence of a preposition see Introd. II. § 4. *r.*

17. petitione: *candidacy, canvass;* Introd. II. § 4. *u.*

18. mox: = *tum, deinde;* cf. page 35, line 31; page 46, line 12; page 49, line 24; page 72, line 11.

19. aerarium: *the treasury,* in the temple of Saturn in the Forum.

20. Marcellus: the consul of 51 B.C. **contentus . . . eripere**: cf. page 25, line 10; Introd. II. § 9. *b.* (1).

21. privilegium: *i.e.* permission to be a candidate *in absentia.* **ut colonis . . . civitas adimeretur**: Caesar settled 6000 colonists at *Novum Comum* (Como); they had Latin rights, *i.e.* the private rights of Roman citizens, but not their public franchises. Marcellus apparently failed in this attempt, and later full citizenship was conferred on the colony. Pliny the Elder and Pliny the Younger were citizens of Como.

23. quod . . . data esset: the reason alleged by Marcellus. **per ambitionem**: *in order to make himself popular.* **ultra**: = *sine;* Introd. II. § 5. *g.* (2).

Chapter 29. Compromise Proposals

29. intercessores tribunos: appositive as adjective; Introd. II. § 2. *d*; cf. *bos arator*, *Vesp.* 5. 4; *serpens draco*, *Tib.* 72. 2; *victores exercitus*, page 51, line 19.

30. Servium Sulpicium (*Rufum*): the famous jurist, Cicero's intimate friend. He was not a strong partisan, nor much of a politician, but, upon the whole, favored Caesar, who later made him pro-consul of Achaia. **alterum consulem**: the colleague, that is, of M. Marcellus, 51 B.C. **Insequenti . . . anno**: 50 B.C.

Page 15. 1. Paulum . . . Curionem : they had been counted devoted partisans of Pompey and the Senate, but Caesar bought their support with heavy bribes ; Paulus is said to have received 1500 talents ; Curio's debts were enormous and he is said to have cost Caesar even more than Paulus. This Curio is the son of the one mentioned in chap. 9.

3. designatos . . . consules : those elected for the next year, 49 B.C., C. Claudius Marcellus and L. Cornelius Lentulus.

4. litteris : cf. Plut., *Caes.* XXX and XXXI ; Dio, XLI. 1.

7. simul atque libuisset : Suetonius does not use *simul atque* (*ac*) with the perfect indicative, but has it twice with the future perfect and five times with the pluperfect subjunctive in oblique construction. Düpow, 7.

9. pepigit : = *pacisci voluit;* his offer was not accepted. **dimissis . . . legionibus . . . Gallia** : zeugma ; Introd. II. § 10. *c*.

12. quoad consul fieret : see note on *quoad*, page 6, line 29. The time intended was January 1, 48 B.C.

Chapter 30. The Civil War, 49–45 B.C.

14. ullam . . . pactionem : notice the unusual separation of the words.

15. Ravennae : the frontier town on the east side of Caesar's province, as Luca was on the west side. The boundary of Cisalpine Gaul on the east side was the Rubicon river.

16. vindicaturus : purpose ; Introd. II. § 9. *a*. (1). **tribunis . . . intercedentibus** : cf. page 16, line 11, page 17, line 5, and notes.

26. nec sine iure iurando : litotes ; Introd. II. § 10. *k*. **delaturum se nomen eius** : that he (Cato) would prosecute him (Caesar) ; Introd. II. § 1. *c*.

27. simul ac primum : pleonasm ; Introd. II. § 10. *e*.

28. fore . . . ut . . . diceret : for *dicturum esse;* cf. *fore ut . . . necaretur*, for *necatum iri*, page 41, line 11.

29. Milonis : tried for the murder of Clodius in the presence of Pompey's troops. **circumpositis armatis** : Introd. II. § 3. *a*.

30. facit : = *reddit;* cf. *reddidit* page 33, line 23 ; *facit*, *Calig.* 8. 1. **Asinius Pollio** : in his history of the Civil War.

32. eum : sc. *Caesarem*. **ad verbum** : *verbatim*, *word for word;* Introd. II. § 5. *b*. (8).

Page 16. 6. Cicero . . . de Officiis : book III. 21. 82.

8. ipse convertit : *he* (Cicero) *translates*.

9. nam si violandum, etc.: the quotation is from Euripides's *Phoenissae*, 524, 525:

> *εἴπερ γὰρ ἀδικεῖν χρή, τυραννίδος πέρι*
> *κάλλιστον ἀδικεῖν, τἄλλα δ' εὐσεβεῖν χρεών.*

Chapter 31. The Crossing of the Rubicon

11. tribunorum: referring in particular to M. Antonius and Q. Cassius, who interposed their veto to the decree that Caesar should disband his army before a certain day; see Caes., *B. C.* I. 2. **ipsos . . . cessisse**: on January 7; Caes., *B. C.* I. 5.

13. et . . . et . . . et: polysyndeton; Introd. II. § 10. *g*.

14. formam: *a plan.*

15. erat aedificaturus: at Ravenna?

20. ad lucem: *towards dawn:* Plutarch speaks as if he crossed the Rubicon in the night.

21. cohortis: he had with him his 13th legion, 5000 infantry and 300 cavalry; see Plut., *Caes.* XXXII; *Pomp.* LX.

25. ponticulum: diminutive; Introd. II. § 1. *e*. It is a plausible suggestion that these personal anecdotes are taken from the history of Asinius Pollio, who was with Caesar.

Chapter 32. The Same, *continued*

27. ostentum tale: it is unusual to put *talis* after its noun.

28. in proximo: *near*, *very near*, adverbial; so in chap. 65.

31. aeneatores: a rare word; Introd. II. § 1. *b*. **prosilivit**: the subject is still *quidam*. It must have been about January 12 that Caesar crossed the Rubicon, for the tribunes had fled from Rome on the night of the 7th, and the news of the capture of Arretium reached Rome on the 17th.

Page 17. **4. Iacta alea est**: no doubt we should read *esto*, as Erasmus suggested, for the *est* of the MSS.; Plutarch, *Pomp.* LX, has *ἀνερρίφθω κύβος*, as Caesar's words, which is undoubtedly a proverb; see H. Peter, *N. Jahrb. für Philol.* CLV (1897), 853–860; Otto, *Sprichwörter*, page 12, *sub voc. alea;* Sihler, in *Proc. of Am. Phil. Assn.*, July, 1901, page ci. More than 30 witty or epigrammatic sayings of Caesar are reported, chiefly in Suetonius and Plutarch. No doubt collections of such sayings existed, though we have no definite knowledge of them. For one instance see lines 28, 29, below.

Chapter 33. Address to the Troops

5. tribunis plebis: Mark Antony and Quintus Cassius vetoed the Senate's decree that Caesar should disband his army before a certain date. Their veto was disregarded and they fled to Caesar.

6. pro contione: Caesar reports the speech he made on this occasion in *B.C.* I. 7. A modern monument in the market-place at Rimini commemorates it.

7. veste . . . discissa: the Bible makes us familiar with this sign of distress.

11. dignitatem suam: almost = *his rights* or *his honor.*

12. quoque: argumentative, *even.*

13. extrema contio: those who were standing on the outer edge of the assembly. The mistake of the soldiers about the gold ring is explained by the fact that the *ius anulorum*, the right to wear gold rings, was the distinctive mark of the equestrian order. Under the early empire the amount of property required for equestrian rank was 400,000 sesterces (*milibus quadringenis*).

Chapter 34. Conquest of Italy and Spain

Chapters 34–37 form a fine example of concise and clear narrative style.

18. Picenum . . . occupavit: Caesar's own account of his almost unopposed progress through Italy is given in Caes., *B. C.* I. 8–25. Picenum was the district along the Adriatic, east of Umbria.

19. successor ei: as proconsul of Further Gaul appointed by the Senate, when Caesar was ordered to lay down his command. Ordinarily, under the *lex Sempronia* of C. Gracchus provinces were assigned by the Senate to the consuls before they were elected, leaving it to be determined afterward by lot or otherwise which province each one would take. See Greenidge, *Roman Public Life*, 285 and 322. Domitius's appointment was somewhat irregular, but the situation was exceptional.

20. Corfinium: in the land of the Paeligni, a mountainous district, east of the Fucine lake. It was the capital of the Italian confederacy in the Social War, 90 B.C., when its name was changed for the time to *Italica.* **in dicionem redacto**: Domitius surrendered on February 21, 49 B.C., and was allowed to go free; Caes., *B. C.* I. 23.

21. Brundisium tetendit: Caesar with six legions arrived at Brun-

disium, March 9, but failed to stop Pompey, who crossed to Greece. The dates are given according to the reckoning of Stoffel, *Guerre Civile.*

23. **transfretaturi**: over the Adriatic; purpose; Introd. II. § 9. *a.* (1).

24. **Romam iter convertit**: Caesar was at Rome a week, but could accomplish little with what was left of the Senate, many members having fled with Pompey and the consuls, and many of the rest being frightened or sullen. His attempt to transact the business of the state is expressed in *appellatisque de re publica patribus.*

26. **M. Petreio**: a veteran soldier, probably the conqueror of Catiline; in Lusitania with two legions. **L. Afranio**: consul in 60 B.C.; in Hither Spain (*Tarraconensis*), with three legions.

27. **M.** (*Terentio*) **Varrone**: the greatest scholar among the Romans; in Hispania Baetica with two legions. One of the seven legions consisted of Spaniards (with Varro); the other six of Italian veterans.

30. **obsidione Massiliae**: Caesar left Trebonius with three legions to besiege Massilia, while he himself conducted the campaign in Spain, sending first his legate Fabius with three legions, then three other legions, and lastly going himself and arriving at Ilerda, June 22, where Afranius and Petreius surrendered, August 2. Massilia surrendered, according to Stoffel's calculation, October 10.

Chapter 35. Victories in Macedonia, Egypt, Asia, Africa, and Spain

Page 18. 1. **urbe repetita**: on this occasion he spent eleven days at Rome, about December 2–13, and as dictator held the consular elections, at which he was chosen consul for 48 B.C. with Servilius Isauricus as his colleague. **in Macedoniam transgressus**: he crossed to Palaeste on the night of January 4–5, 48 B.C. **Pompeium . . . obsessum**: referring to the land blockade of Pompey's forces on the coast near Dyrrhachium, by means of earthworks some 16 miles in extent; this was in the spring, after Mark Antony had joined Caesar with the rest of the army. The investment lasted from about the middle of April to the beginning of July.

3. **Pharsalico proelio**: at Pharsalus in Thessaly, August 9, 48 B.C. (by corrected calendar, June 29).

4. **ut . . . deprehendit**: *ut = as soon as.* **occisum**: treacherously murdered on landing near Pelusium, September 28. Caesar reached Alexandria a few days later.

5. **Ptolemaeo**: Ptolemy XII, a mere boy, son of Ptolemy Auletes, and brother of Cleopatra.

6. **bellum . . . gessit**: Caesar remained in Egypt till midsummer, 47 B.C. The "Alexandrian war" was ended by the surrender of the city to Caesar on March 27. The account of this war is extraordinarily brief. It came near being his last. He was surprised with insufficient forces and could barely hold out till reënforcements came from Asia under the command of Mithradates of Pergamos; *B. Alex.* XXVI.

10. **provinciam**: Egypt under the Empire remained a kingdom, whose sovereign was the Roman emperor, and it was governed by his personal deputy, a *praefectus*, of equestrian rank.

15. **multiplici successu**: made king of Bosphorus by Pompey, Pharnaces took advantage of the Civil War to recover his father's dominions. His success was rapid. He had defeated Domitius Calvinus and the Galatian king Deiotarus, when his career was suddenly arrested by Caesar's arrival from Egypt.

16. **praeferocem**: cf. *praegrandia*, page 89, line 21. Suetonius is fond of the prefixes *per-* and *prae-*. **intra quintum quam . . . quattuor quibus**, etc.: notice the omission of *post* and the inconcinnity of *adfuerat* and *venit*.

17. **quibus . . . horis**: notice the separation of these words; Introd. II. § 10. *b.* (4). **una . . . acie**: the battle of Zela, August 2, 47 B.C., about which is told the famous story of Caesar's dispatch to Rome, "*veni, vidi, vici.*"

19. **inbelli genere hostium**: compared with the warlike tribes of Gaul.

20. **Dehinc Scipionem**: more than a year had elapsed since the battle of Pharsalus, and the Pompeian or senatorial party had had abundant time to rally in the province of Africa. Scipio was consul with Pompey in 52 B.C. from August 1, up to which date Pompey was sole consul; he was the father of Cornelia, Pompey's last wife; see notes to page 13, line 22. **Iubam**: son of Hiempsal, king of Numidia.

21. **devicit**: notice the position of this verb, between its objects. This refers to the battle of Thapsus, April 6, 46 B.C. **Pompei liberos in Hispania**: at the battle of Munda, March 17, 45 B.C., Caesar's last battle. Cneius, the elder son of Pompey, escaped from the battle field but was afterward overtaken and slain. Sextus, the younger son, became the great corsair prince of the Mediterranean and lived till 35 B.C., a thorn in the side of all regular government. See note to page 54, line 18.

Chapter 36. Always Victorious in Wars

23. Omnibus civilibus bellis: ablative of time within which. **nullam cladem**: this is not quite accurate. Caesar was seriously defeated on the blockading lines near Dyrrhachium in 48 B.C. and compelled to raise the blockade. His marvelous powers of recovery restored the spirits of his beaten troops and he won the decisive victory at Pharsalus about five weeks later.

24. C. (*Scribonius*) **Curio**: killed at the battle of the Bagradas, July, 49 B.C., while Caesar was in Spain; his army was annihilated by the forces of Juba. **C. Antonius**: brother of Mark Antony; the event referred to is not mentioned by Caesar, but by Florus, Appian, and Dio; it was in 49 or 48 B.C.

26. P. (*Cornelius*) **Dolabella**: Cicero's profligate son-in-law, who commanded Caesar's fleet in the Adriatic in 49 B.C., while Caesar was in Spain. **Cn. Domitius Calvinus**: defeated by Pharnaces at Nicopolis near the close of 48 B.C., while Caesar was in Egypt.

30. non instante Pompeio: *when Pompey failed to follow up his victory.*

31. ultimo proelio: Munda.

32. de consciscenda nece cogitavit: this reminds us of similar tales about Frederick the Great, Napoleon, and other famous commanders.

Chapter 37. Triumphs, 46, 45 B.C.

Page 19. **1. quinquiens triumphavit**: in 46 B.C. on returning from Africa, over 1. Gaul; 2. Egypt; 3. Pharnaces; 4. Juba; in 45 B.C., 5. over the sons of Pompey; before this no triumph over Roman citizens had been celebrated.

7. instrumento: collective; *material*, *i e.* the spoils exhibited.

8. Velabrum: the valley between the Capitoline and the Palatine; see map of Rome, and Platner, *Ancient Rome*², 18, 56, 393 *f.* **paene curru excussus est axe diffracto**: this would appear a dire omen to the superstitious Romans.

9. ad lumina: *by torch light;* an interesting use of *ad;* Introd. II. § 5. *b.* (4).

10. lychnuchos: a rare word; cf. *Dom.* 4. 1. Elephants were allowed to be used by Agrippa in honor of his victory over Sextus Pompeius at Naulochus in 36 B.C.; cf. Juv., XII. 106:

> *Caesaris armentum nulli servire paratum*
> *Privato.*

11. fercula: frames or litters on which trophies or show pieces were borne.

12. VENI, etc.: referring to the battle of Zela, August 2, 47 B.C.; cf. Plut., *Caes.* L; Florus, IV. 2. 63 (II. 13. 63).

Chapter 38. Bounties

16. super: *in addition to;* Introd. II. § 5. *r.* (2). (*c*).

17. nummum: genitive plural; *nummus* = *sestertius.*

18. non continuos: *i.e.* he did not settle his veterans all in one locality.

20. libras: except here, a measure not used for liquids.

22. Annuam . . . habitationem: *a year's rent* of their dwellings. Plutarch tells us (*Sulla*, I) how Sulla when young and very poor paid 3000 *nummi* a year for his lodgings. House rent had grown exorbitantly high at Rome. As to the substantive, see Introd. II. § 1. *b.*

24. epulum: see Plut., *Caes.* LV for details.

25. viscerationem: *a distribution of meat*, uncooked. **post . . . victoriam**: at the celebration of the triumph after Munda, early in October, 45 B.C.

Chapter 39. Shows and Games

29. munus gladiatorium: see page 5, line 17, and note.

30. regionatim: one of Suetonius's favorite adverbs in *-tim* formed from a noun; Introd. II. § 1. *f.* There were four *regiones* in the city of Servius Tullius, corresponding to the four city tribes: Suburana, Collina, Palatina, Esquilina. Augustus divided the city into 14 *regiones* for administrative purposes; see page 63, line 23, and note. **omnium linguarum**: an indication of the cosmopolitan population of Rome; similarly great modern cities have their theaters and newspapers in many languages; cf. page 71, line 29.

31. circenses: the chief features of the *ludi circenses* were the solemn procession from the capitol to the *Circus Maximus* and around the arena, and the chariot races.

32. Munere: ablative of time.

Page 20. **2. Pyrricham**: sc. *saltationem;* a dance in armor; see Pike's *Suetonius*, note to page 112, line 30. For the syntax of this accusative, see Introd. II. § 4. *l.*

3. Ludis: sc. *scaenicis.*

5. **in quattuordecim**, etc.: sc. *ordines;* he passed from the *scaena*, where he acted, by the *orchestra*, where the senators sat, to the 14 rows next behind the senators, where the knights sat, according to the *lex Roscia theatralis* of 67 B.C. This appearance of Laberius on the stage was an intentional degradation of the equestrian order by Caesar, not directed against Laberius personally, who, although he felt deeply humiliated, yet acted admirably, according to Macrobius (*Sat.* II. 7). The gold ring is the most familiar mark of the equestrian order. Cf. page 52, line 30; page 69, lines 9–13.

6. **Circensibus**: sc. *ludis.*

7. **gyrum euripo**: Greek words; Introd. II. § 1. *d.* *Euripus*, first a common noun, became a proper name, *i.e.* the channel between Attica and Euboea. Here it means the trench around the Circus at Rome.

8. **equos desultorios**: horses of *desultores*, 'vaulters', who leaped from horse to horse in the Circus races; Introd. II. § 1. *b.*

9. **Troiam**: an equestrian evolution or sham battle, performed by youths of high rank in the Campus Martius; cf. page 72, line 6, and note. As to its supposed origin cf. Verg., *Aen.* V. 545 sqq.

17. **Codeta**: the location is not definitely known, but it was presumably in the N.W. part of the Campus Martius near the Tiber. Possibly the name is derived from the reeds along the bank, resembling horse-tails (*cauda*, *coda*).

20. **hominum**: Introd. II. § 4. *e.*

21. **manerent . . . exanimati sint**: notice the coördination of imperfect and perfect tenses; Introd. II. § 7. *f.*

Chapter 40. Reform of the Calendar

24. **fastos correxit**: the calendar had fallen into great confusion through neglect and the dishonest manipulation of it at times by the pontiffs, for political purposes. The last "year of confusion" was 46 B.C., which contained 445 days, owing to the necessary insertion of three intercalary months. The Julian calendar began with the true astronomical January 1, 45 B.C. Sosigenes was the astronomer who arranged the calendar for Caesar. See Sandys, *Companion to Latin Studies*, § 119.

29. **unus dies**, etc.: in leap years February had 29 days as in our modern (Gregorian) Calendar. The only difference is that we do not insert the day in the centennial years except in those divisible by 400 (*e.g.* not in 1800 or 1900, but in 2000). The extra day was inserted by

the Julian calendar after February 24, A. D. VI. KAL. MART. — wherefore we call leap years "bis-sext-ile".

30. ex Kalendis: said to be an unique construction (Freund, page 57).

32. duos alios: these two months contained together 67 days. The ordinary intercalary month of 23 days had already been inserted in the usual place in February — after the 23d; 355 + 23 + 67 = 445.

Chapter 41. Reforms

Page 21. **4. Senatum supplevit**: the ranks of the senate had been much thinned by the Civil War. There had been normally 300 senators till Sulla raised the number to 400. Caesar now raised it to 900 and later to 1000. Then by a reform of Augustus, who cherished the Senate's dignity, it was reduced again to 600, about the size of the British House of Lords. See chap. 80, and *Aug.* 35. **patricios adlegit**: this creation of patricians was performed by Caesar under a *lex Cassia;* Augustus later acted similarly under a *lex Saenia;* see Tac., *Ann.* XI. 25. 3, and Furneaux's notes. It was at this time that Caesar made the *Octavii* patricians; cf. page 46, line 14. **praetorum . . . ampliavit**: he increased the number of praetors to 10, 14, and 16; of aediles, by adding 2 *aediles Ceriales*, to 6; of quaestors to 40; see Abbott, *Roman Political Institutions*, § 127.

6. nudatos: *i.e.* deprived, 'stripped', of their senatorial or equestrian rank by the censors.

7. Comitia: *the elections.*

8. exceptis consulatus conpetitoribus: the consulship for 10 years was given to Caesar in 46 B.C. with power to name his colleagues.

9. de cetero numero candidatorum: = *ceterorum candidatorum* (hypallage; Introd. II. § 10. *j*) and avoids the excessive assonance.

10. pronuntiarentur: *should be declared elected;* sc. by the presiding magistrate.

11. circum tribum: *around to (each) tribe;* Introd. II. § 5. *f.* (1).

12. illi: *to such and such.*

13. illum: *such an one* or *so and so.*

15. proscriptorum liberos: the civic rehabilitation of the children of the victims of the Sullan proscription of 81 B. C. had long been part of the political programme of the *populares.* See Vell. Paterc., II. 43; Plut., *Caes.* XXXVII; Dio, XLI. 18.

15. Iudicia: C. Gracchus's *lex Sempronia*, 123 B. C., transferred the

iudicia (*i.e.* the right to form the juries in the law courts) to the *equites*; Sulla in 80 B. C. restored them to the senate; in the consulship of Pompey and Crassus, 70 B. C., they were assigned jointly to the Senate, the knights and the *tribuni aerarii*, by a *lex Aurelia* of L. Aurelius Cotta.

16. tribunos aerarios: we have no certain knowledge of these *tribuni*, but they formed the third *ordo*, under the *lex Aurelia iudiciaria*.

17. tertium: sc. *genus*.

18. Recensum populi: a revision of the list of citizens who received regular distributions of cheap or free grain at the expense of the state, not a regular census; Introd. II. § 1. *c*. Cf. page 69, lines 14–18. **vicatim**: another of the favorite adverbs in *-im*; *street by street* or *district by district*.

19. dominos insularum: the owners of the large blocks or tenement houses (*insulae*) in which the poorer classes lived.

20. ad: preposition; not, as generally with numerals, an adverb.

21. novi coetus: *further assemblies, fresh meetings*.

23. subsortitio: a rather unusual word.

24. fieret: sc. *ut*; Introd. II. § 8. *k*.

Chapter 42. Economic Legislation

An instance of a sentence, very long but quite perspicuous.

25. transmarinas colonias: especially those at Corinth and Carthage, which had both been destroyed in 146 B. C. and which Caesar hoped to restore. They both became great cities of the empire. Roman Corinth, founded in 46 B. C., was surnamed Laus Julii or Colonia Julia in honor of Caesar. The foundation of the new Carthage was left for Augustus to accomplish in 29 B. C.

28. † decem: the numeral is very doubtful in the MSS. **sacramento**: the military oath of service.

29. qui: indefinite adjective, *quis* being the substantive.

31. pecuariam: sc. *rem*; Introd. II. § 3. *b*; *cattle breeding*; the regulation here mentioned was intended to favor free against slave labor.

Page 22. **1. medicinam . . . professos . . . doctores**: physicians and teachers were usually Greeks. Cf. page 71, line 14, and note.

4. novarum tabularum: a cancellation of debts was much desired by debtors in the troublous times of the civil wars. The agitations of Dolabella and Caelius in 48 and 47 B. C. for this end will be recalled. See Dio, XLII. 22 and 32; Caes., *B. C.* III. 21.

5. **decrevit tandem**: Caesar first made the arrangement here indicated in 49 B.C. and affirmed it again on his return from Spain later in the year, in order to restore public credit and confidence; Caes., *B. C.* III. 1; and again in 47 B.C.; Dio, XLII. 51.

7. **quasque**: the plural of *quisque* is somewhat unusual; cf. *quique*, page 97, line 20; *quosque*, *Tib.* 8.

8. **numeratum aut perscriptum**: *paid in cash or assigned*, *i.e.* by a written transfer.

10. **collegia**: many of these guilds or corporations were of immemorial antiquity, so that their foundation was ascribed to Numa. All had for their ostensible object the celebration of some religious rites. Many were in fact, however, mere political clubs and therefore often centers of revolutionary activity; they were viewed with suspicion by governments, and we often read of their suppression. Cf. page 65, line 19.

11. **facinorum**: *deeds of violence.*

12. **quod . . . exulabant**: it was open to a Roman citizen on his trial, before judgment, to renounce his citizenship and go into exile. This freedom was seriously impaired when he was no longer allowed to take his property with him.

13. **parricidas**: those who had killed a citizen in time of peace. **ut Cicero scribit**: This passage is quoted in Cic., *Fragm. Incerta*, 19; it is not known from what work it is taken. Cf. *Pro Caecina*, XXXIV. 100; *Exilium non supplicium est, sed perfugium portusque supplicii. Nam qui volunt poenam aliquam subterfugere aut calamitatem, eo solum vertunt.*

Chapter 43. Administration of Justice

15. **Ius . . . dixit**: especially in civil suits, private law; what precedes refers to public or criminal law. **Repetundarum**: cases of extortion by provincial magistrates; there was a *lex Calpurnia* of 149 B.C. dealing with offenses of this class, followed by several others of increasing severity. It was the *lex Iulia* passed in Caesar's first consulship, 59 B.C., that formed the basis for the practice of the early empire; see Mommsen, *Strafrecht*, 709; Bouché-Leclercq, *Institutions Romaines*, 448.

16. **Diremit nuptias**: see Sohm, *Institutes of Roman Law*, 447; Roby, *Roman Private Law*, vol. II, 330. *Infamia* attached to widows who re-married too soon.

17. **post biduum**: *on the next day;* see J. C. Rolfe, *Class. Philol.* VIII (1913), 1; cf. page 7, line 19; page 51, line 11.

19. portoria: import duties (and also export duties) had existed "since the time of the kings" till 60 B.C., and there were always such duties after Caesar's time. The *lex Caecilia* which did away with all duties in Italian harbors was passed in 60 or 62 B.C. See Dio XXXVII. 51; Cic., *ad Att.* II. 16. 4.

20. item: Suetonius is fond of this word; it often = *et* or *etiam*. Cf. line 27, below; page 30, line 5; page 43, line 29; page 47, line 28; page 57, lines 7 and 12; page 72, line 1; page 80, line 4; Introd. II. § 6. *h.* **conchyliatae**: the use of purple was considered a form of luxury to be discouraged; see Dio XLIII. 25; XLIX. 16; this law was reënacted by Augustus. For Suetonius's use of Greek words or words derived from the Greek, see Introd. II. § 1. *d.*

21. Legem . . . sumptuariam: there were several *leges Iuliae sumptuariae*, as well as others; see Cic., *ad Fam.* VII. 26. 2; IX. 15. 5; IX. 26. 4; *ad Att.* XIII. 7. 1; Gellius, *N.A.* II. 24. Such laws are always unpopular and hard to enforce; "when the cat's away the mice will play" — and Cicero pretended to be a mouse.

23. obsonia contra vetitum: sc. *empta* or *vendita*.

Chapter 44. Public Works

27. de ornanda . . . urbe: as to his public works, see Plut., *Caes.* LVIII. Caesar's plans were recorded in his papers, which, after his murder, were put into Mark Antony's hands.

29. Martis templum: not to be confused with the actual temple of Mars Ultor built later by Augustus in his forum.

30. naumachiae: see page 20, line 16.

31. theatrum: this plan was approximately carried out when Augustus erected the Theatre of Marcellus.

32. monti accubans: Introd. II. § 4. *j.* **ius civile**: Caesar's idea foreshadowed the later codifications, which may be said to begin with Salvius Julianus's codification of the praetorian Edict under Hadrian and to have been completed by Justinian's *Corpus Iuris Civilis* in the 6th century. One wonders whether Caesar meant to entrust the work of codification to Sulpicius Rufus. This was one of the plans not realized by Augustus.

Page 23. **3. bibliothecas**: Augustus carried out this plan with magnificence in his libraries attached to the temple of Palatine Apollo dedicated October 9, 28 B.C.: Hor., *Od.* I. 31; see page 63, line 6; Ammian. Marcell., XXIII. 3. 3.

4. publicare: *to establish for the people's use.* **Marco Varroni**: see page 17, line 27, and note.

5. Pomptinas paludes: a low region along the coast of Latium, between the hills and the sea, 6 to 11 miles wide and 80 long. The drainage of it has been a chronic problem of ancient and modern governments. It is now mostly reclaimed for the plow. **Fucinum lacum**: the work of draining this lake or rather reducing its size was attempted by the emperor Claudius (Suet., *Claud.* 20; Tac., *Ann.* XII. 56, 57), but with only partial success. Several attempts in ancient and modern times failed, until the work was accomplished by Prince Torlonia in 1862.

7. Isthmum: sc. *Corinthium;* the idea of cutting a canal through the isthmus of Corinth, entertained by Julius Caesar, Nero, and Hadrian, was realized when the actual canal begun in 1881 was opened August 6, 1893. **Dacos**: not conquered till the reign of Trajan, who organized the province of Dacia, north of the Danube.

8. effuderant: figurative. **mox**: *afterward,* in Silver Latin.

9. Parthis: the defeat of Crassus and the loss of his eagles at Carrhae in 53 B.C. had never been avenged. Caesar was preparing at the time of his death for a campaign against the Parthians.

11. Talia agentem, etc.: the remainder of this chapter contains a suggestion of the plan of this and the other Lives. **De qua prius quam dicam**: Suetonius apparently always wrote *ante quam* and *prius quam* as separate words; *ante quam*, it is said (never *antea*), occurs with a finite verb 17 times; *prius quam*, 27 times — the former only in negative sentences except where a numeral expresses "how much prior", in which case *ante* is accompanied by an accusative or ablative.

14. summatim: Introd. II. § 1. *f.*

Chapter 45. Personal Appearance

15. statura: here are no less than six ablatives of quality, arranged in three chiastic pairs; Introd. II. § 10. *h*; Freund, page 11. For the asyndeta, see Introd. II. § 10. *f.* (5).

16. ore paulo pleniore: compared with his spare figure, or compared with the average face. But his portraits give him a decidedly thin face with large, strong, clearly marked features. M. E. Deutsch, in *Class. Jour.* XII, page 247, proposes the reading *ore . . . leniore.*

17. repente animo linqui: this refers to fainting or epileptic seizures.

19. Comitiali . . . morbo: *epilepsy;* see Plut., *Caes.* XVII and LIII. The name comes from the fact that at the *comitia* an epileptic fit was re-

garded as an evil omen, and a reason for adjournment. **inter res agendas**: for the use of *inter* with a gerundive, see Introd. II. § 9. *c.* (1); for *inter* in the sense of 'during', see Introd. II. § 5. *l.* (2).

20. Circa . . . curam: Introd. II. § 5. *f.* (3).

21. velleretur: with a pair of tweezers; this was regarded as an effeminate practice; see Gellius, VI. (VII) 12. 5.

23. iocis: for example, in chap. 51, at his triumph.

24. revocare: no doubt means to draw the hair forward from the back part of his head, in order to cover the baldness in front. This arrangement of the hair appears in his busts.

26. non aliud: = *nihil aliud;* we might expect *alium*, sc. *honorem.*

28. notabilem: sc. *fuisse;* Introd. II. § 10. *d.* (1). He was all his life considered over careful of his appearance — even at the moment of his death this instinct showed itself; cf. page 42, line 19. **lato clavo**: *i.e. tunica laticlavia*, the senatorial tunic with its broad band of purple down the front. Sleeves, especially fringed ones, were regarded as a mark of effeminacy. It was usual to wear a girdle with the ordinary, but not with the laticlave, tunic; Quint., XI. 3. 138.

29. nec umquam . . . cinctura: the exact meaning of this statement is not clear, but it is obvious that some dandified affectation made Caesar conspicuous in his youth and his "loose girdle" has passed into history. See Dio, XLIII. 43; Macrobius, *Sat.* II. 3. 9: *ut Sulla tamquam providus dixerit Pompeio "cave tibi illum puerum male praecinctum";* he recalls Cicero's *mot* when asked why he had chosen the wrong side in the Civil War — "*praecinctura me decepit*"; Pers. III, 31, *discincti . . . Nattae.* As to *cinctura*, see Introd. II. § 1. *b.*

Chapter 46. Dwellings

Page 24. **1. Subura**: the valley between the Oppius and Cispius, which are spurs of the Esquiline — a street ran through it from the Forum to the base of the Clivus Suburanus; see Platner, *Ancient Rome*², 447. **modicis aedibus**: note the absence of a preposition; Introd. II. § 4. *r.* **post autem pontificatum**, etc.: *after his election as pontifex maximus*, March 6, 63 B.C. (chap. 13); he held the office for life. Notice the position of *autem* between a preposition and its noun.

2. domo publica: the official residence of the chief pontiff, not to be confounded with the *regia*. See Platner, *Ancient Rome*², 199. **Munditiarum**, etc.: notice the long period beginning here and running into chap. 48.

3. **studiosissimum**: sc. *eum fuisse*.

4. **in Nemorensi**: sc. *agro*; the district where Nemi now stands; named from the grove (*nemus*) of Diana near Aricia.

5. **ad animum**: Introd. II. § 5. *b*. (8).

6. **responderat**: one would rather expect the subjunctive: Introd. II. § 8. *c*. **tenuem**: *poor*.

7. **tessellata et sectilia**: *tessellae* were small squares or cubes of stone used for paving: *sectilia* probably designates smaller pieces, like what we call mosaic.

Chapter 47. Tastes

8. **spe margaritarum**: we can hardly be expected to believe that this was the chief motive for the invasion of Britain. As to British pearls see Tac., *Agric*. XII: Bede. *Ecclesiastical History*. I. 1.

10. **toreumata**: a Greek word: works in relief, *embossed* or '*repoussé*' *work*.

12. **servitia**: abstract for concrete; = *servos*; this usage is frequent in Livy, and becomes one of the obvious characteristics of Silver Latin.

Chapter 48. Hospitality

14. **convivatum**: *he entertained guests at dinner*.

15. **sagati**: officers or guardsmen who wore the military *sagum*. **palliati**: rhetoricians, philosophers, artists: civilians, but provincials, especially Greeks, not citizens, who wore the *pallium*. **togati**: quaestors, legates, senators, knights, capitalists, etc., who were Romans, and therefore entitled to wear the *toga*.

16. **Domesticam . . . rexit**: this is an example of the figure called διὰ μέσου, or blending of two sentences: { *domum rexit*. / *domesticam disciplinam tenuit*. }

18. **alium**: of course inferior.

20. **equitis Romani uxorem**: it was not the immorality of the act that offended Caesar, but the presumption of the freedman in aspiring to the knight's wife.

21. **quamvis**: with ablative absolute: Introd. II. § 6. *l*.

Chapter 49. Scandals

23. **praeter Nicomedis**, etc. another reference to the old scandal mentioned in chap. 2. The Romans were far from being Puritans, yet they had a healthy scorn and abhorrence of unnatural vice.

25. **Omitto**: the figure *praeteritio* or *apophasis*, where one calls attention to something by pretending not to mention it; cf. below, *praetereo* and *missa . . . facio;* also page 76, line 29 and page 79, line 32; Introd. II. § 10. *l*. (*C.*) **Calvi Licini**: it is not unusual for Suetonius thus to put the *cognomen* before the *nomen;* cf. page 29, line 21, page 42, line 11, etc.; Introd. II. § 10. *b*. (3). This Calvus was a first rate orator and poet, and is generally supposed to have been the son of the well known annalist Licinius Macer.

Page 25. 5. **valitudine mentis**: *mental infirmity.*

7. **C. Memmius**: cf. page 11, line 9. **ad cyathum**: *i.e.* as cupbearer, degrading the Roman dignity by acting as page to a barbarian king; Introd. II. § 5. *b* (1). † **et vi**: unsatisfactory reading of the best MSS.; some editors read *et vina* or *et vinum.*

10. **contentus . . . scripsisse**: Introd. II. § 9. *b*. (1); cf. page 14, line 20.

14. **defendenti ei**: it would be more normal to omit *ei.* **Nysae**: the name of several cities and two queens of Bithynia: the particulars of this case are unknown; A. Gellius (V. 13. 6.) probably refers to this speech.

18. **triumpho**: it was a recognized privilege of soldiers on such occasions to "guy" their general, as modern slang would express it. See Liv., XXXIX. 7. 3; Vell. Paterc. II. 67; Mart. I. 4. Compare the treatment of dignitaries at Oxford Commemorations by the undergraduates.

21. **Gallias Caesar subegit**, etc.; the meter is trochaic tetrameter catalectic.

Chapter 50. Amours

As to the contents of this chapter it will never be possible to distinguish what is truth and what is invention. Scandal about great people has always been popular.

26. **in libidines**: Introd. II. § 5. *k*. (1). (*c*). **fuisse . . . opinio est**: *opinio* with the infinitive occurs a few times even in Cicero; cf. *Nero*, 53; *Vesp*. 4. 5.

27. **plurimasque et illustres**: cf. *unicum ac promptissimum*, page 13, line 31. But there the second adjective may be in the superlative because it admits comparison, while *unicus* does not; cf. page 81, line 20; page 94, line 17; page 96, line 7.

28. **Postumiam**: see Cic., *ad Att.* V. 21. 9; *ad Fam.* IV. 2. 1. For the collocation *Postumiam Servi Sulpici*, see Introd. II. § 4. *c*.

30. Muciam: she was the daughter of Q. Mucius Scaevola, the augur, the mother of Cneius and Sextus Pompeius and their sister Pompeia, divorced by Pompey in 62 B.C. and afterward married to M. Aemilius Scaurus, a step-son of Sulla. She interceded for the Romans with her son Sextus in 39 B.C., was still alive in 31 B.C., and was treated with great respect by Augustus.

Page 26. **1. post tres liberos**: Introd. II. § 5. *o*.

2. Aegisthum: the paramour of Clytemnestra, wife of Agamemnon.

3. cupiditate: Introd. II. § 4. *t*. **ante**: =*prae*; Introd. II. § 5. *d*. (1).

4. Serviliam: half sister of Marcus Cato (Plut., *Cato Minor*, XXIV) and wife of M. Junius Brutus.

5. proximo: not 'next', but *which occurred soon after*; his first consulship is meant, 59 B.C. **sexagiens sestertium**: A. A. Howard says in *Harvard Studies*, VII. 210–214, that the form is always *sestertium* in Suetonius and that the numeral adverb acts as a *quasi*-noun, like *mille*, with the genitive plural. The sum is HS 6,000,000.

7. auctionibus hastae: *sales at auction by the state*, the spear, *hasta*, being the symbol of ownership. See note to page 68, line 2.

8. cum quidem plerisque . . . inquit: the same construction occurs in *Vit.* 8, *cum quidem consternatis . . . inquit.*

9. Cicero, Quo melius, etc.: cf. Plut., *Cic.* V, VII, XXV and XXXVIII; Macrob., *Sat.* II. 2. 5.

11. Tertiam: Junia, daughter of Servilia by her second husband, D. Junius Silanus; M. Brutus was her son by her first husband, M. Junius Brutus.

Chapter 51. The Same, *continued*

12. provincialibus . . . matrimoniis: =*provincialium uxoribus*, abstract for concrete like *servitia* for *servos*, page 24, line 12; Introd. II. § 2. *a*.

13. disticho: a Greek word; Introd. II. § 1. *d*. **aeque**: sc. *atque illud quod supra allatum est*, chap. 49. 4.

15. Urbani, servate, etc.: again trochaic tetrameter catalectic.

17. effutuisti: a rare word; Introd. II. § 1. *b*.

Chapter 52. Cleopatra

19. et: *also*, = *etiam*; Introd. II. § 6. *d*.

20. cui maritoque eius: an anacoluthon which is very common in

English. The occasion referred to is very probably when Caesar divided Mauretania between the brothers Bocchus and Bogud, and confirmed them as kings of that country; see Dio, XLI. 42.

21. ut Naso scripsit: notice the form of citation; cf. page 27, line 19; page 38, line 19; page 42, line 23; page 48, line 14; page 88, line 4; page 100, line 27. M. Actorius Naso was cited at page 4, line 32. **Cleopatram**: the famous queen of Egypt, daughter of Ptolemy Auletes, born 69 B.C. Caesar was in Egypt after the battle of Pharsalus from October 48 to June 47 B.C. See chap. 35 and notes.

23. thalamego: a Greek word, rarely found in Latin; = *cubiculata*, 'provided with cabins or staterooms'; Introd. II. § 1. *d*. **Aethiopia**: between Egypt and Ethiopia lay the border provinces of Dodecaschoenos — running up the Nile from Philae to Hierasycaminos.

24. penetravit: for *penetravisset*, an unfulfilled apodosis; Introd. II. § 8. *b*.

26. remisit: it has been even asserted that Cleopatra was at Rome on the fatal Ides of March. The most skeptical question whether she was ever there at all. There seems little reason to doubt that she did visit Rome, though we are not able to fix precise dates for her coming and going. **filiumque**: sc. *Caesarionem*, who was put to death by order of Octavianus after the battle of Actium; see page 55, line 25; Dio, LI. 15.

29. M. Antonius . . . adfirmavit: Antony's object was to injure Octavianus, Caesar's testamentary heir; see Dio, XLVII. 31. 5; XLIX. 41. 3; L. 1. 5, and 3. 5; LI. 6. 1.

30. C. Matium: an excellent man and a valued correspondent of Cicero; a letter from him appears, *ad Fam.* XI. 28. It is quite unfair to group him with Vedius Pollio, as Tacitus does (*Ann.* XII. 60. 6). **C. Oppium**: often Caesar's spokesman to the public. He and Balbus were Caesar's most trusted confidential agents. They had real charge of affairs in Italy while Caesar was in Spain in 45 B.C., though Lepidus nominally occupied the post. See the anecdote in chap. 72, showing Caesar's attachment to Oppius. He was something of an author, also, as well as a man of affairs.

Page 27. **1. librum**: followed by the epexegetical infinitive *non esse*, etc.

3. Helvius Cinna: for the extraordinary circumstances of his death, see chap. 85. He was killed by a mob who took him for L. Cornelius Cinna, praetor at that time, 44 B.C. Perhaps he should be identified with

the well-known poet, the author of "Zmyrna", the friend of Catullus. Vergil's *Eclogue*, IX. 35, fails to show that the poet was still alive in 40 B.C., in which case the identification would be untenable. See *Philologus*, LXVII. 69, and Ribbeck, *Römische Dichtung*, I². 356.

4. legem : its object would be to secure an heir to Caesar's power; it would be less odious if proposed in his absence. We may well doubt this story.

5. cum ipse abesset : oblique for the future.

7. flagrasse : sc. *Caesarem;* this is a figurative use of the word. For the infinitive with *dubium* see Introd. II. § 9. *b.* (1).

8. Curio pater : the orator, who died 53 B.C., father of Curio, Caesar's lieutenant. He wrote a book against Caesar, in the form of a dialogue, in which the interlocutors were the author himself, his son, and C. Vibius Pansa. Cicero's criticism of it is rather severe (*Brut.* LX. 218).

Chapter 53. Sobriety

10. Vini parcissimum : Introd. II. § 4. *a.*

11. Marci Catonis : sc. *verbum;* cf. Vell. Paterc., II. 41, *Magno illi Alexandro, sed sobrio neque iracundo simillimus.*

13. indifferentem; sc *fuisse;* = *facilem.* Cicero defines the word in *De Finibus*, III. 16. 53.

14. conditum : = *nimis diu servatum.* For the story, cf. Plut., *Caes.* XVII, whose version is slightly different.

16. appetisse scribat : pleonastic for *appeteret* or *appetierit.*

Chapter 54. Rapacity

18. Abstinentiam : taking this as the beginning of a new paragraph, it seems to refer specifically to pecuniary relations.

20. pro consule : an error; he was propraetor in Spain. **et . . . accepit** : corresponds to *et Lusitanorum . . . diripuit;* he spared neither friends nor foes.

21. aeris alieni : cf. page 8, lines 8 and 9, and notes.

26. ternisque milibus, etc.: as to the ratio of the values of gold and silver in antiquity, see Harper's *Dict. Class. Antiq.*, page 121, s. v. *Argentum.* The matter may be explained thus: 1 lb. gold = 10 lbs. silver = 1000 denarii = 4000 HS = 16,000 asses*; *i.e.* 1000 denarii of silver weighed

* It must be remembered that in 217 B.C. the *as* was reduced to ¼ HS or $\frac{1}{16}$ X.

10 lbs. and the value was 16,000 asses, or 4000 HS. This was nominally equivalent to 1 lb. of gold. Caesar cheapened gold to 3000 HS, *i.e.* to $\frac{3}{4}$ of the normal price. See Sandys, *Companion to Latin Studies*, §§ 690, 691.

27. promercale . . . divenderet: *offered for sale, sold in the market;* Introd. II. § 1. *b*.

29. furatus: this sounds like a fable. Is it due to a confusion with the breaking open of the *aerarium* in 49 B.C., after Pompey had fled from Italy?

30. ut qui: Suetonius is fond of *ut* with relatives; Introd. II. § 8. *j*. **Ptolemaeo**: sc. *Auletae;* see Plut., *Caes.* XLVIII; Dio, XXXIX. 12.

32. abstulerit: Introd. II. § 7. *e*. (2). **evidentissimis rapinis ac sacrilegis**: cf. Caes., *B. C.* I. 14; Plut., *Caes.* XXXV; App., *B. C.* II. 41; Dio, XLI. 17; XLI. 39; XLII. 49; XLIII. 39; Oros., VI. 15. 5; Flor., II. 13. 21 (IV. 2. 21).

Chapter 55. Eloquence

Page 28. **3. Eloquentia**: see Quint., X. 1. 114: *C. vero Caesar si foro tantum vacasset, non alius ex nostris contra Ciceronem nominaretur;* also X. 2. 25; XII. 10. 11 and Tac., *Dial.* XXI. 10, *Concedamus C. Caesari*, etc. **militarique re**: compared with Alexander, Hannibal, Frederick the Great, and Napoleon, Caesar began his military career late; from 23 to 40 he saw no service in the army.

4. accusationem Dolabellae: see chap. 4, and notes. Cf. Plut., *Caes.* IV.; Tac., *Dial.* XXXIV. 8, *uno et vicensimo anno*, etc., and Peterson's and Gudeman's notes.

6. Cicero ad Brutum: *Brut.* LXXV. 261; the quotation is at first exact, then given only in substance. On this quotation see J. C. Rolfe, *T.A.P.A.*, 1914, Vol. XIV, pages 45, 46.

8. quoque atque etiam: polysyndeton; Introd. II. § 10. *g*.

10. ad Cornelium Nepotem: Cic., *Epist.* frag. 113. There were once 2 books of letters to Cornelius Nepos.

15. Strabonis Caesaris: C. Julius L. F. Caesar Strabo Vopiscus, a well-known orator distinguished for his wit, described by Cicero, *Brut.* XLVIII. 177; *Divin. in Q. Caecilium*, XIX. 63; cf. Vell. Paterc., II. 9.

16. pro Sardis: T. Albucius, praetor in Sardinia, 105 B.C., was accused in an *actio repetundarum* by Caesar Strabo in 103 B.C., and condemned. Cn. Pompeius Strabo offered himself as accuser, but was rejected because he had been quaestor under Albucius.

17. divinationem suam: the argument before the trial of Dolabella,

in which Caesar claimed the part of prosecutor; defendants sometimes arranged collusive prosecutions with their friends; the meaning of *Divinatio* in judicial proceedings is explained by A. Gellius (II. 4). As to this case cf. Asconius Pedianus, *ad orationem pro M. Scauro*.

20. temere: *without (sufficient) reason*, upon insufficient evidence. **feruntur**: *are alleged to be his*. **Pro Quinto Metello**: sc. *Nepoti*; tribune of the *plebs* in 62 B.C.; cf. chap. 16 and note.

22. actuaris: *short-hand writers*, sometimes called *notarii* (*nota*, 'a sign').

25. ex persona Caesaris: *from the lips of Caesar*.

29. duplex fertur: *exists in two forms*, or *versions*.

30. priore . . . proelio; ablative of time; the reference may be to a battle in the campaign of Ilerda, against Afranius and Petreius in 49 B.C. **posteriore**: perhaps the battle of Munda, March 17, 45 B.C., Caesar's last battle.

Chapter 56. Authorship

Page 29. **1. commentarios**: *memoirs*, not formal histories. **Gallici . . . belli**: 7 books, the 8th being added by A. Hirtius.

2. civilis . . . belli Pompeiani: 3 books; many attempts have been made, but without success, to determine the authorship of the histories of the Alexandrian, African, and Spanish wars. See Schanz, *Römische Litteraturgeschichte*, I. 210–12 (I. M.'s *Hdbch.*, etc.); *Philologus*, L. 550.

6. in eodem Bruto: *Brut.* LXXV. 262.

10. parata unde sumerent: *material from which they might draw*.

12. calamistris: to use the 'curling irons' upon one's style, signifies the use of excessive ornamentation. The word *calamister* is used in this figurative sense by Tacitus as well as by Cicero.

14. Hirtius: in his preface to the *Gallic War*, Book 8.

21. Pollio Asinius: cf. last note to chap. 31. There is no doubt that Pollio was somewhat hypercritical; Cicero, Sallust, and Livy, as well as Caesar, fell under his strictures. But few writers had as good opportunities as he to know the facts of the campaigns described by Caesar.

24. consulto: ablative absolute; Introd. II. § 9. *a*. (4).

26. de Analogia: a stylistic and grammatical work; it was dedicated to Cicero (*Brut.* LXXII. 253); see Gell., XIX. 8. 3; Fronto (Naber's), page 221.

27. Anticatones: this pamphlet was written as a counter-blast to Cicero's eulogy of Cato after his suicide at Utica, which brought odium on Caesar's party and policy.

28. Iter: probably a descriptive poem, written to beguile the tedium of the journey, which, however, was a very rapid one.

29. in transitu: Introd. II. § 5. *k*. (2). (*a*).

30. conventibus peractis: Caesar usually spent each winter (58–49 B.C.) in Cisalpine Gaul, and held the assizes (*conventus*), returning to the army in the spring.

31. sub tempus Mundensis proelii: which was on March 17, 45 B.C. **dum . . . pervenit**: Suetonius's use of *dum*, 'while', is quite normal.

32. in Hispaniam: probably the journey at the end of 46 B.C. for the campaign of Munda.

Page 30. **2. primum**: if this reading is correct, the meaning is clearly *primus*. **ad paginas**, etc.: *i.e.* the sheets were folded like the pages of a book. **memorialis libelli**: a small book used for *memoranda*, a journal or diary.

3. non nisi: with ablative absolute; Introd. II. § 6. *l*.

4. transversa charta: *i.e.* across the whole sheet, without division into columns or pages.

6. per notas: *in cipher*; cf. page 97, line 1.

10. et perinde: *and so on in the same way*; *i.e.* E for B, F for C, etc. **† aitvero**: many conjectures have been proposed for this unintelligible word; if we read *a puero et ab adulescentulo*, the sentence becomes intelligible.

11. Laudes Herculis . . . Oedipus: very probably mere school exercises, prepared for his teachers in rhetoric; many such are recorded of the early years of Roman authors and public men.

12. Dicta Collectanea: collections of wise and witty sayings. Other works of Caesar are mentioned, *e.g.* in Schanz (op. cit.), 258, 259. See note to page 29, line 2. See Cic., *ad Fam.* IX. 16. 4.

14. admodum: note its position after the adjective.

15. ordinandas bibliothecas delegaverat: Freund calls this a case of enallage.

Chapter 57. Military Genius

18. seu sol seu imber esset: iterative subjunctive; see note to *cum . . . signarent*, page 9, line 19.

19. incredibili celeritate: cf. Cic., *ad Att.* VIII. 9. 4; *sed hoc τέρας horribili vigilantia, celeritate, diligentia est;* also *Pro Marcello*, II. 5.

20. expeditus: *without heavy baggage*, 'traveling light'. **raeda**: a Gallic word, meaning a light 4-wheeled carriage, probably with a cover, derived from Gaul, and used for traveling by those who could afford it, drawn by 2 or 4 horses or mules.

21. si flumina morarentur: iterative subjunctive.

23. praevenerit: aoristic perfect subjunctive in a clause of result; the sequence begins with *confecit* above.

Chapter 58. Caution and Daring

24. dubium: for the indirect question depending on *dubium* cf. page 62, line 10: *dubium eventu meliore an voluntate.* Also page 8, line 11: *incertum metune*, etc.; Introd. II. § 3. *d.*

27. nisi . . . per se . . . explorasset: one would gather from *B. G.* IV. 21, that Caesar had this reconnoitering done for him by Volusenus; there seems to be no sufficient evidence that he went in person. Notice the perfect indicative in the apodosis, the pluperfect subjunctive in the protasis.

29. in Germania: sc. *in Eburonibus;* cf. *in Germanorum finibus*, page 12, line 23. The Eburones might be called Belgic Gauls. They were virtually exterminated by Caesar in vengeance for their destruction of the 15 cohorts under Sabinus and Cotta.

30. A Brundisio: notice the preposition; cf. *ab Rhodo*, page 3, line 2, and note.

31. transmisit: as mentioned at page 18, line 1, January 4–5, 48 B.C.

32. cessantibus . . . copiis: Mark Antony did not succeed in crossing the Adriatic with the rest of the army till about the end of March.

Page 31. **1. ipse clam noctu**, etc.: Caesar does not tell this story, but it is found in Luc., V. 504–677; Flor., IV. 2. 37 (II. 13. 37); Val. Max., IX. 8. 2; Plut., *Caes.* XXXVIII; App., *B.C.* II. 57. 236; Dio, XLI. 46. 3. Perhaps, if it is true, Caesar was a little ashamed of it, as a rash and theatrical performance.

3. neque . . . ante detexit . . . quam paene obrutus: notice *ante quam* with a participle, in a negative sentence, instead of a finite verb. Nine examples are given in Düpow, page 12; cf. Livy, VII. 35.5: *non ante viderit quam captum a nobis;* Introd. II. § 6. *m.*

Chapter 59. Disregard of Religion and Superstition

7. **aufugisset hostia**: cf. Cic., *de Divinatione* II. 24, 52: *Quid ipse Caesar cum a summo haruspice moneretur ne in Africam ante brumam transmitteret, nonne transmisit? Quod ni fecisset, uno in loco omnes adversariorum copiae convenissent.* The omen here recorded was a 'dire' one; cf. the story in Livy, XXI. 63. 13.

8. **profectionem . . . non distulit**: in December, 47 B.C., Caesar sailed from Lilybaeum for the African campaign.

9. **in egressu navis**: Introd. II. § 4. *d.* **verso . . . omine**: this shows how the ancients believed an omen could be averted by a ready wit.

10. **Ad eludendas**, etc.: cf. Plut., *Caes.* LII; Dio, XLII. 58.

12. **despectissimum**: superlative of a participle; Introd. II. § 9. *a.* (6).

13. **ad**: expressing purpose; Introd. II. § 5. *b.* (6); cf. page 9, line 28.

14. **Salvitoni**: the spelling of the name varies in the MSS. and in different authors; see Plin., *N. H.* VII. 12. (10). 54 and XXXV. 2. (2). 8.

Chapter 60. Aggressiveness in War, tempered by Prudence in Latest Campaigns

16. **destinato**: cf. *ex destinato*, *Calig.* 43. **sed**: sc. *etiam.* **ex occasione**: Introd. II. § 5. *j.* (2).

17. **ab itinere statim**: Introd. II. § 5. *a.* (1).

18. **quis**: = German *man*, French *on.* 22. The missing line is filled out in later MSS.: *auferre calamitas posset. Nullum umquam.*

24. **exueret**: figurative (Freund, p. 29).

25. **equos dimittebat**: for instance, in the battle with Ariovistus (*B. G.* I. 25. 1).

Chapter 61. His Remarkable Horse

27. **pedibus prope humanis**: modern instances of horses with three toes are not unknown to zoölogists. They are occasional 'freaks' of nature or 'monsters'. The peculiar formation occurs oftenest in the fore feet. The story altogether reminds us of similar ones about Alexander's horse Bucephalus; cf. Plin., *N. H.* VIII. 42.

30. **patientem sessoris**: Introd. II. § 4. *a.*

32. **Veneris Genetricis**: the mythical ancestress of the *gens Iulia*; her temple was vowed on the field of Pharsalus, erected in the *Forum Iulium*, and dedicated September 26, 46 B.C.

Chapter 62. Boldness in averting Defeats

Page 32. 2. contortis faucibus: cf. Plut., *Caes.* LII; App., *B. C.* II. 95. 400; Val. Max., III. 2. 19. Count the participles in this sentence!

4. cuspide: the staff of the standard had a sharp iron point at the bottom by which it could be set upright in the ground; Liv., XXII. 3. 12, 13.

Chapter 63. Audacity at the Hellespont

6. Non minor . . . indicia fuerint: *his courage was no less remarkable, and the instances of it will appear even more striking.* J. C. R. Certainly this is a very puzzling sentence. One wonders if the author wrote it thus.

9. L. Cassium partis adversae: genitive of quality attached directly to a proper name; Introd. II. § 4. *b*; like *Julia Procilla, rarae castitatis*, Tac. *Agr.*, 4; cf. *Furius Septimus stirpe praetoria*, page 19, line 32. The occurrence is mentioned by Dio (XLII. 6. 2 and 3). It was about September 18, 48 B.C.

10. obvium: used without a verb, as an attributive; cf. page 44, line 17, *obvium sibi Helvium Cinnam*, and page 101, line 12, *die proximo obvium sibi Augustum*. This Cassius, like the more famous Gaius Cassius, was afterward one of Caesar's assassins.

Chapter 64. Desperate Valor at Alexandria

12. Alexandriae: see notes to chap. 35. As to the anecdote here related, cf. Plut., *Caes.* XLIX; Oros., VI. 15. 34; and see Voltaire, "*Perronisme de l'Histoire*" prefaced to his *Histoire de Charles XII*; "*Ne croyez pas un mot de ce conte que vous fait Plutarque. Croyez plutôt César* (*i.e.* the author of the *Alexandrian War*) *qui n'en dit mot dans ses commentaires, et soyez bien sûr, que quand on se jette dans la mer, et qu'on tient des papiers à la main, on les mouille.*"

14. praecipitantibus: sc. *se*, or regard the verb as used in the sense of the 'middle voice'.

Chapter 65. Treatment of his Soldiers

18. a moribus . . . a fortuna probabat: an interesting use of the preposition *a*, 'from the point of view of'; Introd. II. § 5. *a*. (3).

20. cum hostis . . . esset: iterative subjunctive.

22. ut neque . . . denuntiaret, sed . . . educeret: a sort of characteristic or illustrative clause, put in the form of a clause of result after *gravissimus;* cf. *sed ut . . . redierint*, page 34, line 25 and similar clauses at page 59, line 4; page 91, line 28; page 97, line 10.

26. admonens: present used for lack of a perfect active participle; Introd. II. § 9. *a.* (3).

Chapter 66. How he averted Panics

31. Iubae: see the end of chap. 35. His forces were very numerous, aside from exaggeration; cf. App., *B. C.* II. 96; Caes., *B. Afr.* I. 4; XIX; XLVIII.

Chapter 67. Flexible but Severe Discipline

Page 33. **9. pro modo**: in proportion to the guilt of the offender or the seriousness of the offense.

10. exequebatur: this involves both the looking for the offender and the punishment of the offense; cf. *omnia scire non omnia exsequi*, Tac., *Agr.* 19. **seditiosorum**: those who did not submit to military discipline.

12. pugnam atque victoriam: hendiadys; Introd. II. § 10. *i.*

13. officiorum: out-post duty, sentry duty, and other camp duties.

16. commilitones: contrast page 59, lines 7, 8.

17. habebatque: sc. *eos; cultos* being predicative.

18. politis: *decorated*, *adorned.*

19. tenaciores eorum: Introd. II. § 4. *a.*

20. clade Tituriana: the destruction of the 15 cohorts under Q. Titurius Sabinus and L. Aurunculeius Cotta in 54 B.C., by the Eburones; see chap. 25, end; *B. G.* V. 24–37. For *Tituriana* = *Titurii* see Introd. II. § 3. *c.*

21. nec ante . . . quam vindicasset: see note on *De qua prius quam dicam*, page 23, line 11.

Chapter 68. Loyalty and Devotion of his Troops

23. reddidit: cf. *facit*, page 15, line 30, in the sense of *reddit.*

25. e viatico suo: *out of their own pocket, funds; viaticum* was originally 'provision for a journey'.

26. gratuitam: adjective, coördinate with the phrase *sine frumento*

stipendioque, which is also attributive to *operam;* cf. *tristia et sine corde exta*, page 38, line 24; Introd. II. § 10. *a*.

27. tenuiorum tutelam: *the care of the poorer ones.*

29. sub condicione: = *sub ea condicione;* Suetonius uses or omits the preposition, in this phrase, indiscriminately; Introd. II. § 5. *q*. Other examples of *sub condicione si* are in *Claud.* 24. 1, *Vit.* 6.

31. recusarunt: cf. Val. Max., III. 8. 7.

32. obsiderentur . . . obsiderent: iterative; Introd. II. § 8. *h*.

Page 34. **1. Dyrrachina munitione**: see page 18, line 1, and note.

2. panis ex herba: sc. *facti;* it was made of *chara*, a kind of root (Caes., *B. C.* 3. 48), called by Pliny (*N. H.* XIX. 8. 41) *lapsăna*, or *cyma silvestris*, *i.e.* charlock, a kind of wild cabbage; cf. Plut., *Caes.* XXXIX; Polyaenus, VIII. 23, 24. For *ex herba* as an attributive phrase, equivalent to an adjective, see Introd. II. § 5. *t*.

8. consolandos: see Caes., *B. C.* III. 73; App., *B. C.* II. 63; Polyaenus, VIII. 23, 26.

14. hostilium sagittarum: Introd. II. § 3. *c*. **centum ac triginta milia**: cf. Caes., *B. C.* III. 53. Some of the texts of Caesar omit the *centum*, but the story is good enough either way. It must have taken a good while to count so many arrows.

16. Scaevae: his exploit is described in Caes., *B. C.* III. 53.

17. Acili: cf. Val. Max., III. 2 22.

20. ad: = *apud;* Introd. II. § 5. *b*. (2).

22. Cynegiri: see Herodotus, VI. 114.

Chapter 69. Treatment of Mutineers

24. Seditionem: *mutiny.*

25. sed ut . . . redierint: *not so far, however, but that they returned*, etc.; Introd. II. § 8. *m*.

29. apud Placentiam: notice the preposition. The occurrence was in 49 B.C. after Caesar's return from Spain; it was not mentioned by Caesar, unless it was in a lost part of his work.

30. missam fecit: = *exauctoravit;* cf. page 58, lines 29–31.

Chapter 70. The Same, *continued*

Page 35. **1. Decimanos**: the 10th legion was always Caesar's favorite in Gaul; cf. *e.g. B. G.* I. 40. 15; and it was on the right wing at Pharsalus.

5. **dimittere**: to discharge from the service. **Quirites**: the proper form of address to citizens in their political and civil capacity, implying that the soldiers were soldiers no longer, but civilians.

6. **circumegit et flexit**: sc. *eos* from the relative clause; notice the figurative sense of the verbs.

7. **quamvis recusantem**: Introd. II. § 6. *m*.

10. **multavit**: this scarcely agrees with App., *B. C.* II. 94 and Dio, XLII. 53.

Chapter 71. Protection of Clients

12. **Masintham**: perhaps a relative, apparently a vassal of Hiempsal, king of Numidia, father of Juba.

14. **barbam invaserit**: Introd. II. § 4. *m*.

16. **ex praetura**: Introd. II. § 5. *j*. (1).

17. **prosequentium**: the persons making a complimentary escort, as usual, attending a magistrate on his departure from Rome, *cum imperio*; Introd. II. § 1. *c*.

Chapter 72. Kindness to Friends

19. **facilitate**: *obliging disposition*.

20. **Gaio Oppio**: cf. page 27, line 13, and page 29, line 3.

21. **deversoriolo**: probably not an inn but a mere chance shelter for the night. Notice the construction of the two cases, dative and ablative with *cesserit*; Introd. II. § 4. *u*; cf. page 82, line 13.

23. **rerum potens**: the adjective in the sense of a participle, *potitus*; *when he had gained* (*supreme*) *power*.

Chapter 73. Generosity to Enemies

28. **contra**: *on the other hand, on the contrary*; Introd. II. § 5. *h*. (2). **nullas tam . . . ut non**: Introd. II. § 8. *m*.

29. **libens**: = *libenter*; Introd. II. § 3. *e*. **Gai Memmi**: this Memmius was the patron of Catullus, to whom Lucretius dedicated his great poem *De Rerum Natura*; he was a candidate for the consulship in 54 B.C., having been reconciled to Caesar, to whom he was hostile both before and after; see page 11, line 9, and page 25, line 7.

31. **petitione consulatus**: Introd. II. § 4. *d*.

32. **Gaio Calvo**: a friend of Catullus, born May 28, 82 B.C., on the

same day as M. Caelius Rufus; a distinguished orator, and poet famous for his fierce lampoons and for his beautiful and tender elegies.

Page 36. 1. **Valerium Catullum**: the poem referred to is the 29th or 57th, perhaps both. Mamurra, an *eques*, evidently a very capable engineer, *praefectus fabrum* of Pompey and afterward of Caesar in Gaul, became scandalously rich through Caesar's indulgence. Probably he is the "Mentula" satirized by Catullus in poems 94, 105, 114, and 115.

3. **satis facientem**: *apologizing;* cf. *Tib.* 27; *Claud.* 38. 1; Frontinus, *Strategemata*, I. 9. 4.

4. **adhibuit cenae**: Introd. II §4. *j.*

Chapter 74. Moderation in Vengeance

6. **piratas**: see chap. 4.

9. **Cornelio Phagitae**: see chap. 1. 2. The bribe was two talents, according to Plut., *Caes.* I.

10. **insidias . . . evaserat**: Introd. II. § 4. *m.*

12. **a manu servum**: *i. e.* an *a-manu-ensis*, as we say; Introd. II. § 5. *a.* (5); cf. *ab actis*, *ab epistulis*, *a rationibus*, *a libris*, *a libellis*, as similar expressions of functions by means of the preposition *a*. Such phrases are comparatively rare in literature, but very frequent in inscriptions. Suetonius seems to have been the first author, perhaps with the exception of Seneca, to use many of them; see J. C. Rolfe, *A*, *Ab*, *Abs*, in *Archiv für Lateinische Lexicographie*, X. 481-486.

14. **simplici morte**: this was comparatively merciful because it was usual to put slaves to death by scourging and crucifixion. **in Publium Clodium**: see page 3, line 26.

17. **Aurelia**: she had detected Clodius in woman's clothing.

Chapter 75. Clemency in the Civil War

24. **Denuntiante Pompeio**: Caes., *B. C.* I. 33: *Pompeius discedens ab urbe in senatu dixerat se eodem se habiturum loco qui Romae remansissent, et qui in castris Caesaris fuissent;* cf. Plut., *Pomp.* LXI; App., *B. C.* II. 37; Dio, XLI. 6; Polyaenus, VIII. 23. 27.

25. **medios et neutrius partis**: Introd. II. § 10. *a* and II. § 4. *b.*

26. **numero**: sc. *in;* Introd. II. § 4. *r.*

27. **ordines**: *centurions' posts;* the company or century was called *ordo*.

28. **apud Ilerdam**: in Spain, in the summer of 49 B.C.; see chap. 34. 2.

30. Afranius et Petreius: cf. page 17, line 26, and notes.

32. perfidiam: cf. Caes., *B. C.* I. 75, 76, 77; Polyaenus, VIII. 23. 28.

Page 37. **1. proclamavit**: cf. App., *B. C.* II. 80; Polyaenus, VIII. 23. 29; Flor., IV. 2. 50 (II. 13. 50).

2. nemini non: a striking instance of litotes; Introd. II. § 10. *k*.

3. Nec ulli perisse: cf. Vell. Paterc., II. 52.

4. Afranio et Fausto: cf. Caes., *B. Afr.* XCV; Flor, IV. 2. 90 (II. 13. 90); Eutrop., VI. 23; Oros., VI. 16. 4 and 5; Dio, XLIII. 12; App., *B. C.* II. 100; Plut., *Caes.* LIII. For Faustus cf. page 13, line 24, and note.

5. Lucio Caesare iuvene: the son of L. Caesar who was legate of Caesar in Gaul (*B. G.* VII. 65). For the son see Drumann-Groebe, III. 120. 121; Caes., *B. Afr.* LXXXVIII. 3, 6; LXXXIX. 4; he appears to have been murdered by the soldiers, not by Caesar's wish. As to the *liberti*, *servi*, and *bestiae*, see Drumann (loc. cit.), footnote to page 122.

11. permisit: notice its position between two dependent infinitives.

12. sed et: in the sense of 'and what is more'; Introd. II. § 6. *e*. **statuas Luci Sullae atque Pompei**: thrown down by the people at the news of the battle of Pharsalus, and now restored by Caesar's orders; Dio, XLII. 18; XLIII. 49; Plut., *Caes.* LVII; *Cic.* XL; Polyaenus, VIII. 23. 31.

14. si qua . . . dicerentur: the clauses are iterative; see note to *cum . . . signarent*, page 9, line 19; Introd. II. § 8. *h*. One would expect to find the apodosis in the imperfect tense. See page 57, line 21, and note.

19. Auli . . . Caecinae: probably the son of Cicero's client in his *Pro Caecina;* a learned Etruscan of Volaterrae, who went into exile after the battle of Pharsalus, in consequence of his libellous works against Caesar; in Cicero's correspondence are three letters to and one from Caecina (*ad Fam.* VI. 5–8).

20. Pitholai: a freedman, who opened a school of rhetoric in 81 B.C. Macrobius (*Sat.* II. 2. 13) says: *M. Otacilius Pitholaus, cum Caninius Rebilus uno tantum die consul fuisset, dixit : "Ante flamines, nunc consules diales fiunt"*.

21. laceratam: figurative use of *lacero*. **civili animo**: = *leniter;* cf. Tac., *Ann.* IV. 21: *quae Tiberius civiliter habuit;* and *Ann.* II. 34: *Tiberius hactenus indulgere matri civile ratus; civilitatis eius*, page 76, line 28.

Chapter 76. Offices and Honors

23. Praegravant : *turn the scale.*

25. continuum consulatum: Caesar was consul for the first time with Bibulus in 59 B.C.; for the second, with Servilius Isauricus in 48 B.C.; for the third, with Lepidus in 46 B.C.; for the fourth, without a colleague in 45 B.C.; for the fifth, with Mark Antony in 44 B.C.

26. perpetuam dictaturam: he was dictator a few days in the autumn of 49 B.C. on his return from Spain; in 47 B.C. with M. Antony as *magister equitum;* in 45 B.C. with Lepidus, and in 44 B.C. with Lepidus and Octavius as *magistri equitum.* **praefecturam . . . morum**: this amounted to being censor without a colleague.

27. praenomen Imperatoris: consult Harper's *Dict. of Classical Antiq.* under title *imperator. Imperator* seems rather to have been a *cognomen* in Julius Caesar's case. With Augustus and the emperors from Nero on it became a *praenomen.* Suetonius naturally thought of it as it was in his time; Mommsen, *Staatsrecht*, index under *imperator;* Pauly-Wissowa, *Real. Encyclopädie* under art. *imperator.* **Patris patriae**: this title was bestowed for the first time upon Cicero; Greenidge, *Roman Public Life*, 354.

28. statuam inter reges: there was also the statue of Brutus, the first consul, with those of the kings; Plut., *Brut.* I; as to Caesar see Dio, XLIII. 45. **in orchestra**: the part of the theater reserved for senators. **sed et**: = *sed etiam;* Introd. II. § 6. *d.*

30. pro tribunali: not 'in front of', below, but *upon*, at the front of the tribunal, the platform on which a magistrate sat giving judgment. **tensam**: an ornamental sacred car or chariot on which the statue of a god was conveyed in processions to the circus for the great games; cf. page 72, line 30.

31. templa: Dio, XLIV. 6; App., *B. C.* II. 106. 443. **simulacra iuxta deos**: Dio, XLIII. 14; XLIV. 4; Flor., II. 13. (IV. 2) 91.

32. pulvinar: a cushion or couch on which the image of a god was placed for a sacred banquet (*lectisternium*). In later biographies Suetonius seems to use the word in a different sense, *e.g. Claud.* 4. 3; cf. page 73, line 26, and note. **lupercos**: a new *sodalitas* (*Iuliani*) was added to the old ones (*Fabiani* and *Quintiliani*); they were priests of Faunus, Lupercus, or Pan. Dio, XLIV. 6. This *sodalitas* of *Iuliani* was abolished before April, 43 B.C. (Cic., *Phil.* XIII. 15. 31). See Wissowa, *Religion und Kultus der Römer*, 484, n. 2. **mensis**: *Quintilis* was changed to *Iulius.* **e suo nomine**: Introd. II. § 5. *t.*

Page 38. 2. **titulo tenus**: *in name only.* The year was dated by his consulship, but he resigned the office immediately to a *consul suffectus;* as to *tenus* see Introd. II. § 5. *s*. (2).

5. **in . . . menses**: Introd. II. § 5. *k*. (1). (*b*).

7. **praefectos**: substitutes temporarily appointed by kings or consuls in their absence, and thus personal deputies, not vice-magistrates, as a praetor was to a consul. We read of the *praefectus urbi* or *urbis* in the reign of Tarquinius Superbus.

8. **Pridie . . . Kalendas**: Caninius Rebilus was appointed *consul suffectus* for a few hours of the 31st December 45 B.C. in place of Fabius Maximus, who died on that day. Hence Cicero's famous jest about the consul who never slept.

11. **in pluris annos**: *pluris* = *compluris* as at page 42, line 4. Caesar was at this time preparing to be absent for a long time for the Parthian war.

13. **quosdam . . . Gallorum**: cf. *Senatum supplevit*, page 21, line 4; page 40, line 7; Cic., *ad Fam.* IX. 15. 2, *in urbem nostram infusa est peregrinitas*, etc.

14. **monetae**: the mint was properly in charge of the *tres viri monetales* (A(*ere*) A(*rgento*) A(*uro*) F(*lando*) F(*eriundo*)), who constituted a regular magistracy after the Social War. Mommsen, *Staatsrecht*, II. 587; Lange thinks it was created in 288 B.C.

15. **peculiares**: *personal*, *private.* **Trium legionum**: the regular number in Egypt, till Tiberius reduced it to two; Tac., *Ann.* IV. 5. 4; *Hist.* II. 6; in Strabo's time Egypt had 3 legions and 9 cohorts (XVII. 1. 12. 797).

16. **Rufioni**: a person otherwise unknown. The Emperors did not entrust Egypt to proconsuls or propraetors, but governed it by their personal deputies (*praefecti*), some of whom were freedmen.

Chapter 77. Insolence in Power

18. **inpotentiae**: *violence* due to lack of self-control. **ut Titus Ampius** (*Balbus*) **scribit**: notice the unusual form of citation. This writer is mentioned in Caes., *B. C.* III. 105; Cicero addressed to him *ad Fam.* VI. 12. See Tyrrell, Introduction to Vol. IV of *Cicero's Correspondence*, p. lxx.

21. **nescisse litteras**: sometimes understood 'did not know history (literature)'; better taken as a general phrase meaning 'was an ignoramus, a fool', as we say "he does not know his A, B, C," of one who

has not mastered the elements of a subject. **deposuerit**: for the tense see Introd. II. § 7. *e*. (4).

23. pro legibus habere quae dicat: this sounds like Ulpian's *dictum*, centuries later, *quod principi placuit legis habet vigorem*.

24. tristia et sine corde exta: Introd. II. § 5. *t*.

25. diceret: for the tense see Introd. II. § 7. *g*.

27. cor: punning on the other sense of the word, 'brains', 'intelligence'.

Chapter 78. Arrogance toward the Senate

29. Adeuntis se: cf. Plut., *Caes.* LX; Dio, XLIV. 8.

31. pro aede Veneris Genetricis: cf. Liv., *Epit.* CXVI.

32. a Cornelio Balbo: cf. Plut., *Caes.* LX.

Page 39. **2. Gaium Trebatium**: Cicero's friend and correspondent, officer of Caesar in Gaul, 54 B.C.; afterward a famous jurist. Horace playfully addresses him in *Sat.* II. 1. **minus familiari**: *unfriendly;* a case of litotes.

4. subsellia: quaestors, plebeian aediles and tribunes had not the right to use curule chairs.

5. Pontium Aquilam: he was afterward one of Caesar's assassins; Dio, XLVI. 38; App., *B. C.* II. 113; was killed at Mutina, 43 B.C.; Dio, XLVI. 38 and 40. Numerous references to him in Cicero's letters may be found by consulting the index to Tyrrell's *Correspondence of Cicero*.

6. indignatus sit: Introd. II. § 7. *d*. (3).

7. Repete . . . rem publicam: the idea is: 'snatch from me, what I hold as my own', *i.e.* 'claim the restoration of free government'. The word *tribunus* receives a sarcastic emphasis from its position.

9. sub exceptione: Introd. II. § 5. *q*.

Chapter 79. Suspected of aiming at Royalty

The first period is another example of Suetonius's long but perspicuous sentences.

12. in sacrificio: ablative of time. **Latinarum**: sc. *feriarum:* the immemorial common festival of Rome and Latium, celebrated annually on the Alban mountain, usually in April, under the presidency of the Roman chief magistrate — consul or dictator — together with the magistrates of the Latin towns. Warde Fowler, *Roman Festivals*, 95–97.

15. candida: the color probably suggested royalty.

16. **Marullus . . . Flavus**: tribunes in 44 B.C. **coronae . . . detrahi**: Introd. II. § 4. *k*.

22. **regem**: probably a pun; *Rex* was a Roman family name; cf. page 3, line 19; Hor., *Sat*. I. 7. 35. **responderit**: Introd. II. § 7. *d*. (3).

23. **Lupercalibus**: ablative of time; February 15; Warde Fowler, *Roman Festivals*, 310–321. Recall the scene in Shakespeare's *Julius Caesar*, Act I, scene 2.

29. **Lucium Cottam**: praetor in 70 B.C., when he carried the *lex Aurelia iudiciaria;* consul in 65 B.C., the year of the so-called first Catilinarian conspiracy; censor in 64 B.C.; a partisan of Caesar, of whose mother he was a relative; a friend of Cicero; he rarely attended the Senate after Caesar's murder. **quindecimvirum**: one of the keepers of the Sibylline books; they were originally 2 in number; from the time of the Licinian laws, 10; probably from Sulla's time, 15; their full title was *quindecimviri sacris faciundis;* cf. note to page 64, line 11; Plut., *Caes*. LX.

30. **fatalibus**: sc. *Sibyllinis*.

Chapter 80. The Conspiracy against Caesar's Life

Page 40. 6. **detrectante . . . flagitante**: chiasmus; Introd. II. § 10. *h*.

7. **libellus**: *a lampoon;* it was an ancient practice to post such skits in public places; later Romans had the habit of posting them on a certain statue of "Pasquino"; whence they came to be called "pasquinades".

8. **Bonum factum** (*sit*): a common formula for the beginning of an edict, like 'God save the Commonwealth of Massachusetts', at the end of a proclamation; cf. page 80, line 22; *Vit*. 14. 4.

10. **Gallos Caesar**, etc.: the meter is trochaic tetrameter catalectic. Notice *sumpsĕrunt* in line 13.

12. **bracas**: free Gaul was often called *Gallia bracata* in contrast to *Gallia togata*, the Roman province. **latum clavum**: the broad purple stripe on the tunic of a senator.

14. **Quinto** (*Fabio*) **Maximo**: the consul at the end of 45 B.C., who died on December 31, and was succeeded by Caninius Rebilus for a few hours; cf. page 38, lines 8–10, and note.

19. **Luci Bruti**: the 'Liberator', who drove out Tarquin and became one of the first pair of consuls; his statue stood with those of the seven kings; cf. page 37, line 28, and note. Caesar's own statue apparently was the 9th.

21. Brutus: the meter is the same as above.

25. Gaio Cassio: he hated Caesar and was the real originator of the plot against him.

26. Marcoque et Decimo Bruto: one would expect *Brutis*.

27. cunctati: notice the construction in the double indirect question. **per comitia tribus**: ever since 241 B.C. (if that date be correct) the people voted by tribes, even in the centuriate *comitia*, each tribe having ten centuries. **per**: = *during*; Introd. II. § 5. *n.* (2).

28. partibus: in the same sense of the word we find *primas partes*, page 42, line 11. **e ponte**: this was the *pons suffragiorum*, a bridge of planks over which the voters passed one by one to cast their ballots; Cic., *ad Att.* I. 14. 5, *operae Clodianae pontes occuparant*; Ovid, *Fasti*, V. 634, *pontibus infirmos praecipitasse senes*; but see M. E. Deutsch, in *California Publications in Classical Philology*, XII, page 93.

30. postquam . . . edictus est: Suetonius uses the perfect usually, sometimes the imperfect, but not the present or pluperfect after *postquam*, except in connection with ablative or accusative of time; Düpow, 4.

Page 41. **1. Pompei curiam**: the Senate was to meet in the *exedra* of the *porticus* attached to Pompey's theater; Platner, *Ancient Rome*[2], 375.

Chapter 81. Fatal Omens

4. colonia Capua: a 'Roman' colony under the *lex Iulia agraria* of 59 B.C.; 20,000 colonists were settled in and near Capua.

7. vasculorum: a rare word; Introd. II. § 1. *e*.

8. Capys: this eponymous founder of Capua is mythical; the name of the founder and the date of foundation are unknown. Cf. Liv., IV. 37. 1.

10. quandoque ossa, etc.: see Düpow, page 18.

11. fore ut, etc.: for the future infinitive passive, as often in Suetonius.

14. ne quis, etc.: sc. *eam*.

15. Cornelius Balbus: Caesar's well known confidential agent and business manager, from Gades, consul in 40 B.C. He wrote an *Ephemeris* (diary) telling of important events in his own and Caesar's life.

16. equorum greges: Caesar had consecrated and set free a number of horses when he crossed the Rubicon. This act is one of the manifestations of the trait in Caesar's character discussed by Warde Fowler in the article already cited, *Class. Review*, XXX, page 71. See page 1, line 2, and note.

18. ubertim: Introd. II. § 1. *f*.

19. Spurinna: the Etruscan name suits the profession of *haruspex*.

21. regaliolum: perhaps a *wren;* a rare word; Introd. II. § 1. *e*.

22. Pompeianae curiae: it was in the hall attached to Pompey's theater that Caesar was murdered.

23. ex proximo nemore: a grove of plane trees surrounded the *porticus Pompei*.

26. Calpurnia: as to her marriage to Caesar see page 10, lines 18, 19.

27. fastigium: originally the gable or pediment of a temple; one of the honors conferred upon Caesar was a *fastigium in domo;* Flor., IV. 2. 91 (II. 13. 91); Plut., *Caes.* LXIII. It may have been some kind of pinnacle.

30. cunctatus an: cf. page 50, line 2.

31. se contineret: *should stay at home*.

32. Decimo (*Iunio*) **Bruto** (*Albino*): he had been a prominent *legatus* of Caesar in Gaul, had defeated the *Veneti* and the Massilians in naval battles, was at this time praetor, and consul-designate for 42 B.C. His treachery to Caesar was peculiarly black. He was among Caesar's heirs in the second degree; see page 43, line 11.

Page 42. **8. diceret**: for the mood see Introd. II. § 8. *g*.

Chapter 82. The Assassination, March 15, 44 B.C.

10. specie officii: on pretense of paying their respects; Introd. II. § 4. *s*.

11. Cimber Tillius: the name is reversed. Caesar had assigned to Cimber the province of Bithynia, yet some grudge or disappointment led him to join the conspirators. **primas partes**: cf. *partibus divisis*, page 40, line 28. Cf. Sen., *de Ira*. III. 30. 4. 5.

12. aliquid rogaturus: he asked for the restoration of his brother then in exile; Plut., *Caes.* LXVI.

14. adprehendit: pulling the toga on both shoulders would bend Caesar forward.

15. alter e Cascis: P. Servilius Casca, tribune of the plebeians; he fled from Rome, fought at Philippi, and died not long after. His brother Gaius was also in the plot. **aversum**: *from behind* or *as he turned away*. **vulnerat**: the historical present is seldom used by our author; Introd. II. § 7. *b*.

16. graphio: *with his stilus;* he probably had no weapon upon him.

17. utque: *and as soon as*.

19. sinum: the skirt of his toga; the ancient Romans did not wear

trousers. The sense of personal dignity was very highly developed in the Romans of the higher class and Caesar remembered it even in death.

22. sine voce: without any articulate words.

24. Καὶ σὺ τέκνον: this is the original of the famous "*et tu, Brute ?*" — very probably an invention intended to embroider the tale. The curious profess to find in the words evidence that Brutus was actually the son of Caesar, who had been the lover of his mother Servilia. Cf. Plut., *Brut.* 5.

25. donec . . . rettulerunt: cf. page 14, line 8; *donec . . . rettulit* and note on *donec*, page 1, line 12. **dependente brachio**: this realistic detail bears the mark of truth.

26. servoli: the diminutive is rhetorical, not literal. It marks the contrast to his state an hour before: — now the city is all quiet, the citizens frightened, the streets deserted, as the three slaves hurry stealthily with their burden.

27. ut Antistius . . . existimabat: notice the form of citation.

28. secundo loco: *i.e.* the second wound of those inflicted upon him.

29. Fuerat animus: cf. Vergil, *Aen.* IV. 639, *Perficere est animus finemque imponere curis;* Ovid, *Metam.* V. 149, 150, *namque omnibus unum Opprimere est animus;* but *id.*, I. 1, *In nova fert animus mutatas dicere formas Corpora; Calig.* 56. 1, *non . . . defuit animus adoriri; Oth.* 6. 1, *tulerat animus . . . occupare.*

Chapter 83. His Will

32. Lucio Pisone: cf. chap. 21.

Page 43. **1. Idibus Septembribus**: *i.e.* in 45 B.C. on Caesar's return from Spain before he entered Rome for his triumph.

2. Lavicano suo: at his villa near Labicum in the district of Tusculum.

3. Vestali maximae: it was a practice to deposit important documents in temples, and especially wills in the house of the Vestals; cf. page 107, line 12. **Quintus Tubero**: historian and jurist; he spoke before Caesar against Ligarius, who was defended by Cicero. See Quint., X. 1. 23; Liv., IV. 23. 2; X. 9. 10. It is not always easy to distinguish him from his son, who also wrote history.

4. solitum: evidently Caesar made several wills.

7. Gaium Octavium: afterward the emperor Augustus, grandson of Caesar's younger sister Iulia, who married Atius Balbus.

C. Julius Caesar m. Aurelia

Caesar the Dictator — Atius Balbus m. Julia

    C. Octavius m. Atia

        C. Octavius (Augustus).

8. ex dodrante: the fractions of an estate were expressed in terms of the AS and its twelfth parts, UNCIAE; *dodrans* is *de quadrans*, *i.e.* $\frac{3}{4}$; see Justinian, *Institutes*, II. 14. 5. **Lucium Pinarium**: grandson of Caesar's elder sister; he served against Brutus and Cassius; App., *B. C.* III. 22; IV. 107. **Quintum Pedium**: also a grandson of Caesar's elder sister; though it has been argued that, considering his age, he was more probably her son; *legatus* of Caesar in Gaul in 57 B.C., praetor in 48 B.C.; enjoyed a triumph in 45 B.C. for his campaign in Spain; consul with Octavianus in the autumn of 43 B. C.; died at the beginning of the Second Triumvirate, during the excitement of the proscription. **ex quadrante**: they were to divide the fourth equally between them.

9. in ima cera: at the end of the will, which was written on waxed tablets; Introd. II. § 2. *c*.

10. adoptavit: the more correct word would be *adscivit;* for *quasi*-adoption by testament, cf. Cic., *de Off.* III. 18. 74; *Brut.* LVIII. 212; Nep., *Att.* V. 2; this book, page 107, line 16; *Tib.* 6. 3; Octavius was *sui iuris* and 18 years old, and he had his adoption confirmed by a *lex curiata*, which was necessary for an *arrogatio inter vivos;* Bouché-Leclercq, *Manuel des Institutions Romaines*, 387; Roby, *Roman Private Law*, I. 59, note.

11. in tutoribus: guardians could be named by fathers in their wills for sons under 14; it was for a possible posthumous son that he was providing, not for Octavius.

12. secundis heredibus: a technical expression; Introd. II. § 1. *c*. To guard against the possible failure of the first named heir or heirs, a second set were ordinarily named in a will; to guard against their failure a third set might be named, and so on. This was called *substitutio vulgaris.* Three grades of heirs were mentioned in the will of Augustus, page 107, line 18. See Justinian, *Institutes*, II. 15. The Romans had a religious or superstitious horror of dying intestate, either by leaving no will or by the failure of the heirs appointed. **hortos**: at the base of the Janiculum; cf. Hor., *Sat.* I. 9. 18.

13. publice: *for the use of the public* as a park.

Chapter 84. Funeral

15. indicto: by a crier or a herald, as was usual in the case of Roman nobles.

16. iuxta Iuliae tumulum: See note to page 12, line 26. **ad simulacrum**: *i.e.* it was a small model of the temple.

17. intra: adverb; Introd. II. § 5. *m*.

19. tropaeum: a likeness of a trophy erected on a battle field after a victory. **fuerat**: for *erat;* Introd. II. § 7. *h*.

20. munera: *offerings* to be cast on the pyre and burned with the body; — clothes, arms, ornaments, spices, perfumes, and the like.

21. omisso ordine: not waiting for the regular procession; the time on the day of the funeral would be too short.

22. Inter ludos: it was the custom to hold games, and especially theatrical shows, as part of the obsequies of great personages; *e.g.* Terence's *Hecyra* was acted for the second time and his *Adelphoe* for the first time at the funeral games of Aemilius Paulus in 160 B. C.

24. Pacuvi: the tragic author of this name was contemporary with Ennius and the Second Punic War. **Armorum Iudicio**: a tragedy dealing with the contest between Ajax and Ulysses for the arms of the dead Achilles. The quotation is from a complaint of Ajax. Cf. App., *B. C.* II. 146.

25. Men: = *mene; me* is the subject of *servasse*, exclamatory infinitive.

26. Acili: some editors read *Atili*, for this unknown Acilius; see Teuffel and Schwabe, *History of Roman Literature*, § 107. 2. **Laudationis loco**: it was dangerous for Antony to commit himself, in an outspoken manner, in the excited state of public feeling. His position was insecure and he could not have yet made up his mind as to his future policy. His method was well adapted to test the feelings of the populace, and to excite regret for Caesar.

27. senatus consultum: cf. chaps. 76 and 78. 1; App., *B. C.* II. 144. 600, 601.

29. item: Introd. II. § 6. *h*. (2). **ius iurandum**: cf. App., *B. C.* II. 145. 604.

30. a se: *on his own account;* Introd. II. § 5. *a*. (4).

31. Lectum: *the bier.* **rostris**: the *Rostra Iulia* is meant, close by the Regia; the temple of Deified Julius was afterward built at this spot; see Platner, *Ancient Rome*[2], 183–186.

Page 44. 2. **duo quidam**: no doubt representing Castor and Pollux. *Quidam* is also used of the apparition at the Rubicon, page 16, line 27. Both passages are highly dramatic.

3. **cereis**: sc. *funibus* or *funalibus;* Introd. II. § 3. *b.*

4. **tribunalia**: belonging to the courts in the Forum.

5. **ad donum**: *by way of offering;* cf. *munera*, page 43, line 20, and note; for *ad* see Introd. II. § 5. *b.* (6).

6. **scaenici artifices**: perhaps they were present, ready to act a play, or perhaps they were to personate Caesar's ancestors in the funeral procession.

11. **bullas**: these amulets were usually of gold and were worn on the necks of children of the higher classes.

13. **circulatim**: *forming groups* (*circulos*).

14. **Iudaei**: humane treatment of the Jews was a part of the enlightened policy of Caesar.

Chapter 85. Popular Disorders

16. **domum**: one would naturally expect *domos* with the two genitives. It is not likely that Brutus and Cassius lived in one house.

17. **Helvium Cinnam**: cf. page 27, line 3, and note; Gell., XIX. 9. 8 and 13. 5; Val. Max., IX. 9. 1; Dio, XLIV. 50. 4; App., *B. C.* II. 147. 613; Plut., *Brut.* XX. The unfortunate error which caused his death made him famous.

18. **quasi Cornelius** (*Cinna*) **is esset**: Introd. II. § 8. *i.*

19. **requirebat**: reminding of our Western slang: 'was looking for'.

21. **lapidis Numidici**: a mottled yellow marble, *giallo antico.* The column probably stood near the *ara Caesaris*, remains of which are still visible. The altar was demolished with spectacular violence by Dolabella, *consul suffectus* in 44 B.C., but Augustus built a temple to Julius on the spot, which was twice afterward restored, and of which considerable remains still exist.

23. **longo tempore**: Introd. II. § 4. *q.*

Chapter 86. Why Caesar had failed to take Precautions

28. **religiones**: this noun, though abstract, occurs not seldom in the plural; *e.g.* page 97, line 32.

32. **†adinspectantium**: the reading of the text here is very doubtful.

Ihm's is *adsectantium*, 'attending him'. **e diverso**: cf. page 61, line 8; Introd. II. § 5. *j*. (2).

Page 45. **1. cavere**: the lacuna may be filled as in Roth's text: *sollicitum maluisse. Quidam dicere etiam.*

4. potentiae . . . abunde: Introd. II. § 4. *e*.

Chapter 87. Preference for a Sudden Death

10. apud Xenophontem: in the *Cyropaedia*, VIII. 7, especially § 25.

13. pridie quam: = *die ante quam;* we may attribute the use of the subjunctive here to the influence of the *cum*-construction, just as, for example, with the *dum*-clause in Liv., I. 40. 7, *dum . . . averteret.*

14. apud Marcum Lepidum: later one of the Second Triumvirate, then *Magister Equitum;* cf. Plut., *Caes.* LXIII; App., *B. C.* II. 115. 479.

15. repentinum inopinatumque: ἀπροσδόκητος is the word in Plutarch (*Caes.* LXIII).

Chapter 88. Deification

16. sexto et quinquagensimo . . . anno: this would fix the date of his birth as 100 B.C. See note to page 1, line 1.

17. ore . . . decernentium: *i.e.* by a formal decree; Introd. II. § 3. *a*.

18. ludis: celebrated by Octavianus. Cf. Plin., *N. H.* II. 25. 93, *quos faciebat Veneri*, etc.

19. consecrato: *when he was deified.* **ei**: it would be more usual to omit the pronoun. **stella crinita**: *a comet*, identified by the people with the spirit of the deified Julius. Augustus suggested or at any rate profited by this idea: see Dio, XLV. 7; Plut., *Caes.* LXIX.

24. Curiam: in Pompey's theater; see page 41, line 22. **placuit**: the coördinate subjects are the two infinitives and the *ne*-clause.

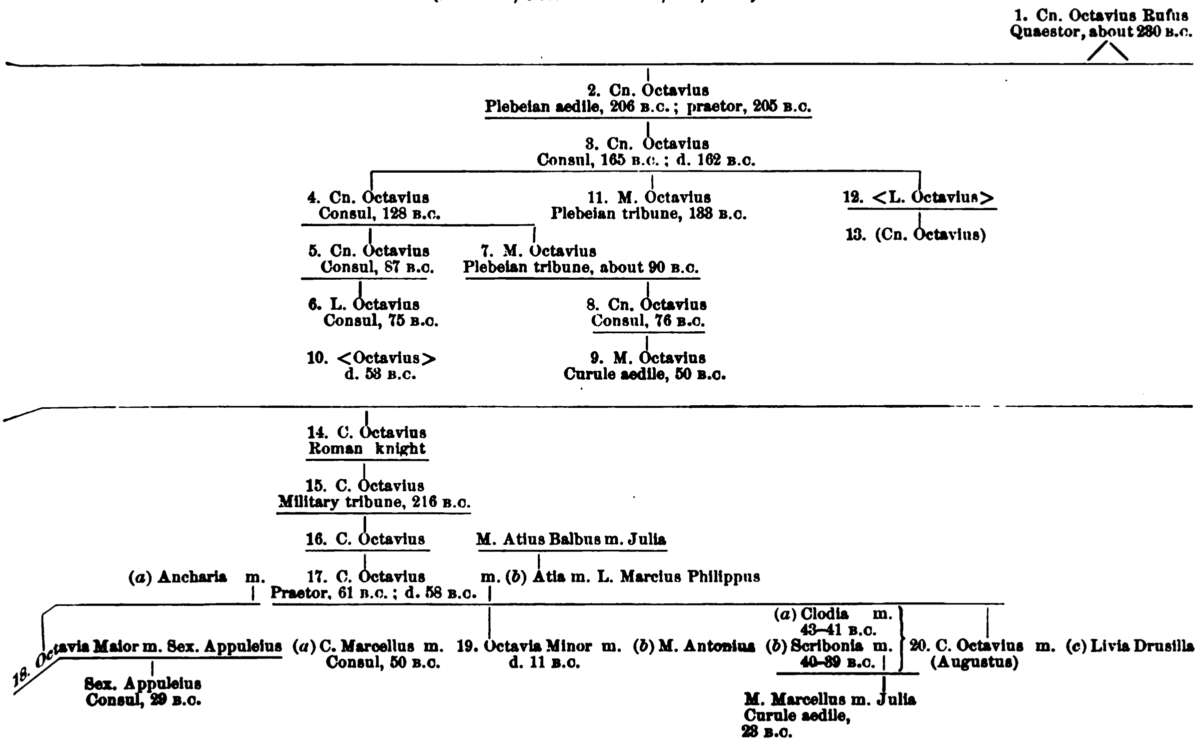
Chapter 89. Fate of the Assassins

28. sua morte: *by a natural death;* cf. Sen., *Ep.* 69. 6. **Damnati omnes**: by the *lex Pedia*. This law annulled the amnesty voted just after the Ides of March 44, B.C. As to Q. Pedius see note to page 43, line 8.

It is said that Brutus and Cassius killed themselves with the same daggers with which they had murdered Caesar; cf. Plut., *Caes.* LXIX; Dio, XLVIII. 1. 1.

STEMMA OF THE OCTAVII

(Drumann, *Geschichte Roms*, IV[2], 234 f.)



AUGUSTUS (27 B.C.–14 A.D.)

Chapter 1. The Octavian Family

Page 46. 1. Velitris: *Velitrae*, modern Velletri, a picturesque town on a spur of Monte Artemisio on the southern slope of the Alban Hills, overlooking the Pomptine Marshes, twenty-six miles by rail from Rome. It is mentioned among the original thirty cities of the Latin League and, again, as a Volscian city; cf. Dion. H., *Ant. Rom.* V. 61. 3, III. 41. 5, VI. 42. 1–2. Though colonized twice, at least, by Rome, in 492 and 404 B.C., it long maintained a traditional hostility towards Rome and partial independence; cf. Dion. H., *Ant. Rom.* VII. 12. 4–5, 13. 5; Diod., *Bibl. Hist.* XIV. 34; Liv. VI. 12. 6, 13. 8, 21. 2–3, 22. 1–3, 29. 6, 36. 1–2, 4–5, VII. 15. 11. Joining in the Latin revolt of 340 B.C., Velitrae was selected for most severe punishment at the close of the war in 338 B.C. Its walls were destroyed and its local senators carried beyond the Tiber, while their places were filled by a new body of Roman colonists. From this time Velitrae becomes an ordinary municipal town, receiving the Roman *civitas* by the *lex Iulia* of 90 B.C. It gained some celebrity from having been the native place of the Octavii, who were already Roman citizens. Cf. Liv. VIII. 3. 9, 13. 4–5, 14. 5–7, XXX. 38. 8, XXXII. 1. 10. **praecipuam**: *distinguished;* in this sense often applied to persons in Silver Latin: cf. Quint., *Inst.* VI. 3. 3, *praecipui in eloquentia viri;* Tac., *Ann.* XII. 40. 2, *praecipuus scientia rei militaris Venutius.*

2. vicus: *street.* From this meaning was derived that of 'quarter', 'district' of a town or city. **celeberrima**: *most frequented;* its proper signification. Cf. Cic., *pro Leg. Manil.* XII. 33, *portum Caietae celeberrimum ac plenissimum navium,* and see page 73, line 7, *celeberrimos ludos.* **oppidi**: probably used interchangeably with *urbs* except as Velitrae is distinguished from Rome; cf. *Tib.* 1. 1; *Oth.* 1. 1. **vicus . . . vocabatur et ostendebatur ara**: chiastic order; cf. page 3, lines 10 f., *reditum . . . confecit habuitque . . . contionem.* See Introd. II. § 10. *h.*

3. ara Octavio consecrata . . . bello dux finitimo: observe the position of *Octavio* and *dux;* cf. page 48, line 29, *subita vi et incerta;* page 58, line 21, *commutavit multa et instituit.*

4. Octavio: *by an Octavius;* best construed as a dative of the agent, but may also imply that the altar served as a rendezvous 'for' the family of the Octavii: see Introd. II. § 4. *h*; cf. page 9, line 27, *Campum Stellatem maioribus consecratum;* Tac., *Germ.* 3. 3, *aram . . . Ulixi consecratam.* Yet it was consecrated 'to' some deity, perhaps Mars. Commemoration of events of note in a family was not infrequent. See note to page 9, line 27. **bello . . . finitimo**: Velitrae often engaged in border warfare as well as in conflicts with Rome. See note to line 1, above.

5. rem divinam: *sacrifice;* cf. page 103, lines 5 f., *omnem rei divinae apparatum; Tib.* 44. 2, *re divina peracta.* It is used less frequently in the plural; cf. Liv. I. 8. 1, *Rebus divinis rite perpetratis;* Cic., *de Div.* II. 10. 25, *rebus divinis procuratis.*

6. semicruda: *half raw.* The sacrificial parts would ordinarily not be taken from the altar in this condition; cf. Marquardt, *Röm. Staatsv.* III². 182 f. **foco**: = *ara;* mainly poetic in this sense; to be taken with *rapta:* 'snatched from the altar and offered up (*prosecuit*)'. Cf. Ov., *Met.* IV. 753–755, where *focus* is identified with *ara:*

Dis tribus ille focos totidem de caespite ponit,
Laevum Mercurio, dextrum tibi, bellica virgo;
Ara Jovis media est.

prosecuit: peculiar to the ritual of sacrifice; refers to the 'cutting' or 'chopping' into pieces of the inwards of the victim, the *exta,* after they were cooked, but before they were finally burnt upon the altar. Hence came the terms *prosecta, prosiciae, prosicies, prosicium,* of the parts thus treated. The procedure is described in Ovid, *Met.* XII. 150–154:

Festa dies aderat qua Cygni victor Achilles
Pallada mactatae placabat sanguine vaccae.
Cuius ut inposuit prosecta calentibus aris
Et dis acceptus penetravit in aethera nidor,
Sacra tulere suam, pars est data cetera mensis.

7. victor redit: in describing the fall of Veii Livy relates (V. 21. 8) a story which affords an interesting parallel. The Romans had completed their mine beneath the city when they heard, as the king of Veii was sacrificing, *vocem haruspicis dicentis qui eius hostiae exta prosecuisset, ei*

victoriam dari. A sortie was made from the mine and the *exta* were carried off to the Roman dictator. In the present instance the ingenuity of the sacrificing Octavius was rewarded with the victory which the altar commemorated.

8. cavebatur: *provision was made;* cf. page 84, line 4, *Cavit etiam s. c. ut,* etc.; *Tib.* 75. 2, *Nam cum senatus consulto cautum esset ut,* etc. **in posterum**: sc. *tempus; for the future.* Cf. page 62, lines 22 f., *Tutam vero . . . in posterum praestitit;* page 84, line 4, *in perpetuum* (sc. *tempus*), 'for all time', 'forever'. See Introd. II. § 5. *k.* (1). (*b*).

9. redderentur: *should be offered;* also a word of ritual. In a sense, offerings were a debt due the gods; hence, perhaps, this use of *reddere.* Cf. Serv. *ad Verg. Georg.* II. 194; Tac., *Hist.* IV. 53, *super caespitem redditis extis.* **reliquiae . . . referrentur**: *i.e.* the parts other than the *exta,* which (as *prosecta*) were burned, were to 'be handed over' to the Octavii. Certain parts of the victim were ordinarily perquisites of those engaged in the sacrifice, as may be seen from the Ovid passage (*Met.* XII. 154) quoted in note to line 6, above.

Chapter 2. Paternal Ancestors

11. Ea gens: the heads, *patres,* of the *gens* were admitted to the senate *inter minores gentis,* but such admission probably conferred patrician rank on the descendants of such *patres minorum gentium.* See Mommsen, *Röm. Staatsr.* III. 31. n. 1. **Tarquinio Prisco**: fifth king of Rome, first of the Tarquin dynasty, by whom, according to Livy (I. 35. 6), were added to the one hundred *patres maiorum gentium* of Romulus (cf. Liv. I. 8. 7) one hundred *patres minorum gentium.* **inter minores gentis**: the precedence of *maiores gentes* over *minores gentes* was, Mommsen thinks, an honorary rather than a legal one. Certainly, the later distinction between the terms 'patrician' and 'plebeian' did not hold at the time of Tarquinius Priscus. Cf. Liv. II. 1. 10 and see Momms., *Röm. Staatsr.* III. 32; *Hist. of Rome* (Eng. Trans.), I. 108.

12. adlecta: regularly used of admitting additional members to the senate; cf. page 40, line 7, *Peregrinis in senatum allectis;* page 65, line 31, *Iudices . . . adlegit; Claud.* 24. 1, *libertinorum filios in senatum adlegisse; Vit.* 1. 2, *stirpem . . . inter patricios adlectam.* **mox**: *subsequently;* equivalent to *deinde.* Observe the variation again in *procedente tempore;* cf. *Tib.* 49. 1, *Procedente mox tempore; Tib.* 1. 2, *Deinceps procedente tempore.* See Introd. II. § 6. *i.* **in patricias**

traducta: the Octavii mentioned by Livy are always plebeians. Statements of *traductio*, or 'transfer' to a different rank, scarcely admit of discussion for the legendary period. Suetonius himself has apparently blended two traditional accounts of the early history of the *gens*.

13. ad plebem se contulit: the most notable instance of transfer from patrician to plebeian rank was that of Cicero's enemy, P. Clodius. See note to page 10, line 8, for the legal procedure.

14. Divum: *deified*. This posthumous title was not enjoyed by the emperors Tiberius, Caligula, Nero, Galba, Otho, Vitellius and Domitian. Gudeman (Tac., *Agr. and Germ.* 260) states that Julius Caesar is always mentioned by Tacitus as *Divus Iulius* or *dictator Caesar* except in *Hist.* III. 66, where no ambiguity is possible. **in patriciatum redit**: *was restored to patrician rank;* see Introd. II. § 1. *b*. This occurred through Octavius, the future Augustus, whose elevation apparently happened soon after Pharsalus, August 9, 48 B.C. Before Caesar's time a *lex curiata* was necessary for this kind of *traductio*. The actual transfer may not have taken place until 46 or 45 B.C., when Caesar, under a *lex Cassia*, added to the number of patrician *gentes*, of whom not more than fourteen or fifteen still survived. Augustus followed his example by an enabling *lex Saenia* passed in 30 B.C.; cf. Tac., *Ann.* XI. 25. 3 and see note to page 21, line 4. In his fifth consulship, 29 B.C., he increased the number of patricians *iussu populi et senatus;* see *M. A.* VIII. 2. 1, with Mommsen's note; cf. Momms., *Hist. of Rome* (Engl. Trans.), V. 337. Later emperors acted on their own authority in this matter.

15. Primus ex hac, etc.: *the first of this house to receive a public office by vote of the people was Gaius (Octavius) Rufus.* Note order of words and emphasis of position in this sentence. See stemma of the Octavii on page 181. **C.** (*Octavius*) **Rufus**: quaestor in 230 B.C. Drumann (*Gesch. Roms*, IV^2. 236) argues for 'Gnaeus' as his *praenomen*, basing his argument on the name of the consul for 165 B.C., Gnaeus Octavius, as proved by *C.I.L.* I^2. p. 25. *an.* 589.

16. a quibus . . . defluxit: *from whom were derived two branches of the house of the Octavii.*

17. condicione diversa: *of dissimilar rank; i.e.* the one patrician, the other plebeian. In like manner the *gens Domitia* contained both the patrician Ahenobarbi and the plebeian Calvini; cf. *Ner.* 1. 1. See also *Tib.* 1. 1, *Patricia gens Claudia* (*fuit enim et alia plebeia nec potentia minor nec dignitate*), etc.

18. siquidem: *for;* gives cause of statement contained in *condicione diversa;* cf. page 4, line 15; page 45, line 18; page 66, line 7; page 106,

line 7. **Gnaeus** (*Octavius*): plebeian aedile, with Spurius Lucretius, in 206 B.C.; praetor in 205 B.C., then governor of Sardinia: cf. Liv. XXVIII. 38. 11, 13. He was later prominent during the Hannibalic War; cf. Liv. XXVIII. 46. 14, XXIX. 13. 5, 36. 1–2, XXX. 24. 6 ff., 36. 3 ff., XXXI. 3. 2, 11. 18, XXXIV. 45. 5, XXXV. 23. 5, XXXVI. 12. 9 ff. **deinceps ab eo reliqui**, etc.: *all the rest of his descendants in succession filled the highest offices.* Beginning with his son, his descendants held the consulship for four consecutive generations. See stemma on page 181.

20. voluntate: *from choice;* like Maecenas, whose royal descent and persistence in declining elevation above the equestrian rank are repeatedly contrasted by the Augustan poets. Possibly, the Gaius branch preferred commercial compensations to political office, if any credence is to be placed in the statements about the rope manufactory and the bank at Thurii.

Page 47. **1. stipendia . . . fecit**: *served, did military service. Stipendia* is regularly used in the plural in this transferred sense, but usually with *merere;* but cf. Liv. III. 27. 1, *cum stipendia . . . fecisset.* **in Sicilia**: this same Gaius Octavius may also have been at Cannae, since the reading in Frontinus (*Strat.* IV. 5. 7) does not necessarily, as Shuckburgh implies in his note on this passage, refer to a Gnaeus Octavius. A lacuna of three letters is reported for MS. P in the Frontinus passage, so that the correct reading may have been C(aius) C. F. Cn. N. Octavius; from which a confusion of names might easily arise. Livy gives so much information, moreover, about the Gnaei Octavii that it hardly seems likely that he would have failed to mention a Gnaeus Octavius in connection with the event alluded to by Frontinus. Cf. Drumann, *Gesch. Roms*, IV^2. 244 (nr. 15). **tribunus militum**: as a youth of equestrian rank, he would thus begin his *cursus honorum.* Each legion had six tribunes, who served in pairs or one on each alternate day of two months of every year. (*L.*) **Aemilio Papo**: praetor in 205 B.C., probably *decemvir sacrorum* in 172 B.C., the lot gave him Sicily as his province; cf. Liv. XXVIII. 38. 13. Two legions composed of soldiers disgraced at Cannae and Herdonia were in Sicily at this time.

2. municipalibus magisteriis: *the offices of a municipal town.* In classical Latin *magisterium*, the office of a *magister*, 'director', 'superintendent', etc., is not used in the technical sense of *magistratus.* Suetonius here uses the word in contrast with the imperial *magistratus.* As the *municipia* differed, so did the offices vary. The principal officers, however, were the local senators, *decuriones* or *centumviri;* the presiding

judges in the senate and assembly, called *duoviri*, corresponding to the two consuls at Rome; two *quaestores* and *aediles*, with duties similar to those of Roman officials of the same title. For the various kinds of *municipia* see Smith, *Dict. of Ant. s.v. municipium.*

3. abundante . . . senuit: *with an abundance of inherited wealth, lived very peacefully to old age.* The grandfather of Augustus, therefore, probably spent most of his time at Velitrae; *in avito suburbano iuxta Velitras*, in the words of our author (page 48, lines 21 f.). Here he may have increased his fortune through usury as an *argentarius*; cf. *Aug.* 2. 3, 4. 2. **haec alii; ipse Augustus nihil**: chiastic order, with adversative asyndeton; see Introd. II. § 10. *f.* (4) and II. § 10. *h.* The ellipsis of a verb, such as *tradunt* or *tradiderunt*, is hardly felt. Like Suetonius himself, there were doubtless many others who were eager to search the annals of past ages for information concerning the Octavii, whether in praise or disparagement. Suetonius names as writers on the life of Augustus: Julius Marathus (cf. *Aug.* 79. 2, 94. 3), a freedman, on personal matters; C. Drusus (cf. *Aug.* 94. 6), on a story of his infancy; Julius Saturninus (cf. *Aug.* 27. 2), on his attitude towards proscriptions; Aquilius Niger (cf. *Aug.* 11), on events at Mutina; M. Valerius Messala Corvinus (cf. *Aug.* 74), on the table guests of Augustus. From Nicolas of Damascus, the Greek historian introduced to Augustus by Herod the Great, are preserved important fragments of his panegyric on the life of Augustus. In this connection he merely states (*Vit. Aug.* 2) that Augustus's father was a senator and his ancestors were notable for their wealth and goodness.

4. Augustus . . . scribit: *e.g.* in his *De Vita Sua* (cf. *Aug.* 85. 1), memoirs of his life and times, in thirteen books, used by Plutarch (cf. *Brut.* XXVII, 'as he himself has stated in his Memoirs'), Cassius Dio (cf. XLVIII. 44. 4, 'writing down this very fact in his Memoirs'), Appian (cf. *B. C.* IV. 110. 463, 'as he himself wrote in his Memoirs') and other later writers. Suetonius himself may have drawn on this work for much of his information concerning intimate particulars of the emperor's life. The statement in *Claud.* 1.1 may be compared with that of Dio (XLVIII. 44. 1 ff.) on the same subject. Besides this, the *Res Gestae Augusti*, preserved for us in the *Monumentum Ancyranum*, in particular furnished information of great value on the times of Augustus; see Introd. I, pages XIV. ff., and note to page 108, line 2.

5. locuplete et in qua: note inconcinnity, with change from adjectival modifier to relative clause; see Introd. II. § 10 *a.* **primus senator,** etc.: a statement borne out by Nicolas of Damascus, *Vit. Aug.* 2.

6. M. Antonius libertinum, etc.: *Mark Antony twits him with his great-grandfather, saying that he was a freedman;* in his letters, as is learned also from Tac., *Ann.* IV. 34. 8 : *Antonii epistulae, Bruti contiones falsa quidem in Augustum probra, set multa cum acerbitate habent. . . . sed ipse divus Iulius, ipse divus Augustus et tulere ista et reliquere, haud facile dixerim moderatione magis an sapientia.* He attacked Augustus in edicts, also ; cf. Cic., *Phil.* III. 6. 15, *At quam contumeliosus in edictis! quam barbarus! quam rudis! Primum in Caesarem maledicta congessit,* etc. See *Aug.* 7. 1, 10. 4, 16. 2, 28. 1, 69. 1–2, 70. 1, for similar insults by Antony. **libertinum** : with reference to his politico-social position ; while *libertus* is the freedman in relation to his former master. *Libertinus* sometimes meant 'son of a *libertus*' ; cf. *Claud.* 24. 1, *ignarus temporibus Appi et deinceps aliquamdiu libertinos dictos non ipsos qui manu emitterentur, sed ingenuos ex his procreatos.*

7. restionem : *a rope-maker;* only here in this sense. Plautus (*Most.* 884) uses the word of 'one who deserves to be flogged'. See Introd. II. § 1. *b.* **e pago Thurino** : *from the district of Thurii;* used in the same sense as *Thurinum agrum* (line 16, below) and *regione Thurina* (page 48, line 32). Thurii, near the bay of Tarentum and not far from the site of the ancient Sybaris, was one of the latest of the Greek colonies in Magna Graecia ; founded in 443 B.C. by colonists sent out from Athens, among them the historian Herodotus and the orator Lysias. A Roman colony with Latin rights was settled there in 193 B.C. under the new name of Copia. Cf. Liv. XXXIV. 53. 1, XXXV. 9. 7.

8. argentarium : *money-changer, banker;* as a private banker for the exchange and loan of money, originally distinguished from the *nummularius*, a state officer of the mint who assayed and distributed newly coined money. Later the *nummularii* did a regular banking business, receiving deposits of funds, opening current accounts and making loans, in addition to their official functions. *Mensarius*, another term for 'banker', was used with reference to his *mensa*, or 'counter', as τραπεζίτης of the Greek money-changer, still in evidence on the streets of modern Athens. By imperial times the three terms had come to be used indiscriminately : witness the fact that all three were applied to the ancestors of Augustus, as is seen from a comparison of our passage with *Aug.* 4. 2, where *nummularius* and *mensarius* both occur. In *Ner.* 5. 2 *argentarius* is apparently used to mean 'silversmith'. The general attitude towards persons of this occupation was doubtless influenced by the wealth and standing of those concerned. Nothing further is known of a rope-walk of the Octavii at Thurii and a bank in the family at Thurii or Velitrae.

Chapter 3. The Father of Augustus

10. et re et existimatione magna: *a man of large wealth and high repute;* a noteworthy collocation of ablatives of quality.

12. argentarium: see note to line 8, above. The affronts of the father were visited on the son; cf. *Aug.* 70. 2. **etiam inter divisores,** etc.: *was even reported in the number of distributors of campaign funds and hired election agents;* see Introd. II. § 1. *c.* Corrupt practices were often employed at elections. To secure votes secretly, *interpretes* were used to make the bargain and *sequestres*, election agents, held the sums of money to be disbursed by *divisores.* There were many enactments against bribery (*ambitus*), but not uncommonly money was distributed among the members of one's own tribe. A canvass (*ambitio*), however, did not necessarily assume the form of bribery. Suetonius says (*Aug.* 40. 2) that Augustus himself used this means to prevent members of his tribes from being bribed by any candidate's supporters (*suffragatores*). The action of Julius Caesar may also be compared; see *Jul.* 19. 1. Political clubs (*collegia sodalicia*) hired *operae campestres,* the modern 'ward heelers', to intimidate or encourage voters to vote for their candidates for office. Elections were held in the Campus Martius; hence the use of *campestris* in this connection.

13. amplis . . . innutritus opibus: *brought up in affluence;* here the participle, not the adjective: both are post-Augustan. Cf. Plin., *Paneg.* 16. 1, *innutritus bellicis laudibus pacem amas.*

14. honores: a list of these is still preserved on a marble slab that was set up in a chapel by Augustus. The inscription (*C. I. L.* I², page 199, XXIX) follows:

C · OCTAVIVS · C · F · C · N · C · PRon
PATER · AVGVSTI ·
TR · MIL · BIS · Q · AED · PL · CVM ·
C · TORANIO · IV́DEX · QVAESTIONVM ·
PR · PRO · COS · IMPERÁTOR · APPELLÁTVS ·
EX · PROVINCIA · MACEDONIA ·

Drumann (*Gesch. Roms,* IV². 246) suggests that he may have been commissioned with judicial authority in 63 B.C., the year of his son's birth; cf. *Aug.* 94. 5. But Suetonius makes specific mention of no office before his praetorship, which was in 61 B.C. He is content to state that all his offices were 'filled with distinction'. **adeptus . . . administravit**: chiastic order; see Introd. II. § 10. *h.*

15. Ex praetura, etc.: *after his praetorship it was his lot to obtain Macedonia;* see Introd. II. § 5. *j.* (1) and cf. page 8, line 8; Vell. II. 59. 2, *ex eo honore sortitus Macedoniam.* In reality he was *propraetor* when he became governor of Macedonia in 60 B.C., but the title of *proconsul* is given him in the inscription quoted above; see *Jul.* 54. 1 and note to page 27, line 20. As successor to the infamous Gaius Antonius, consul with Cicero in 63 B.C., he was especially conspicuous for his personal integrity and justice, as well as through the suppression of the barbarous tribes. Velleius (II. 59. 2) states that he was called *imperator* by his soldiers in Macedonia. On the distribution of provinces see Greenidge, *Rom. Publ. Life*, 200, 204, 285.

16. Thurinum agrum tenentis: Thurii had been seized by the gladiators soon after their revolt under Spartacus, 73–71 B.C. Joined by refugees, it would seem, from Catiline's followers, either after the battle near Pistoria or from the camp at Faesulae, they still held possession of the mountainous district near Thurii in the year 60 B.C.; cf. App., *B. C.* I. 117. 547.

17. in itinere: *en route* to Macedonia. **negotio sibi in senatu**, etc.: *entrusted in the senate with an extraordinary commission; i.e.* beyond the sphere of his regular duties as governor of Macedonia.

19. Bessis ac Thracibus: *the Bessi and the other Thracians.* The Bessi were a Thracian tribe dwelling in the district about the river Nestus and Mt. Rhodope. They are here made prominent by the figure, *σχῆμα καθ' ὅλον καὶ μέρος*, the Greek figure of 'the whole and the part'; see Gildersleeve-Lodge, *Lat. Gram.* 323. *n.* 2. On the northeastern frontier of Macedonia, they were constantly a source of danger both before and after the formation of this country into a Roman province. Reduced to submission from time to time, they nevertheless long maintained the right to the title applied by Herodotus (VII. 111) to the Satrae, the tribe of which they were a branch: 'But the Satrae never became subject to any living man, so far as we know, but alone of the Thracians have always continued to be free down to my time'. It was while in Thrace that Octavius was supposed to have been apprised of the future greatness of his son; see *Aug.* 94. 5.

20. ut epistulae, etc.: an instance of illogical sequence. It was not the existence of the letters, but the advice and admonition (*hortatur et monet*), that resulted from the exemplary conduct of Octavius: *His treatment of our allies was such that Marcus Cicero, in letters which are still in existence, urges and admonishes his brother Quintus;* J. C. R. The letters may have been *ad Q. Frat.* I. 1. 21 f., I. 2. 7, of our collection.

21. parum secunda fama: *with a fame that reflected but little credit on him.* Besides having an irascible disposition, Quintus appears to have been lacking in tact.

22. proconsulatum Asiae: Q. Tullius Cicero was really *propraetor*, having held the praetorship in 62 B.C. and governed the province of Asia from 61 to 58 B.C. Suetonius may have had in mind the more recent division of the provinces into senatorial and imperial. Governors of the former were officially known as *proconsules;* of the latter, as *legati Augusti pro praetore.* Since its establishment in 129 B.C. Asia had always had a *praetorius* as governor. The Roman province of Asia, formed out of the kingdom of Attalus of Pergamus bequeathed to Rome in 133 B.C., originally embraced Mysia, Lydia, Caria and Phrygia, with the adjacent islands, including Rhodes. **hortatur et monet**: while brevity is characteristic of his style, Suetonius often joins words, usually in pairs, nearly or quite synonymous; cf. page 48, line 19, *proprio suo ac peculiari;* page 50, line 12, *demonstrari cognoscique;* page 52, line 4, *invalidus atque aeger;* page 55, line 19, *venenum ac virus.*

23. imitetur: see Introd. II. § 8. *k.* **in promerendis sociis**: *in winning over allies.* His methods may be best inferred from Cicero's tribute to him (*ad Q. Frat.* I. 1. 21): *Adiungenda etiam est facilitas in audiendo, lenitas in decernendo, in satisfaciendo ac disputando diligentia. Iis rebus nuper C. Octavius iucundissimus fuit.*

Chapter 4. Maternal Ancestors. Sisters

25. Decedens: the official word for quitting a province at the expiration of a term of office; regularly with *ex* or *de.* Cf. page 8, lines 12 ff., *pacataque provincia . . . ad triumphum simul consulatumque decessit.* **profiteri se candidatum**: *announce himself as candidate* to the magistrate who was to preside and who previously satisfied himself of the candidate's qualifications for office. After 63 B.C., at least, a candidate was required to make his *professio* in person; cf. Cic., *de Leg. Agr.* II. 9. 24: *Praesentem enim profiteri iubet, quod nulla alia in lege umquam fuit, ne in iis quidem magistratibus quorum certus ordo est,* of the year 63 B.C. The regulation was enforced in the case of Julius Caesar in 60 B.C.; see *Jul.* 18. 2. The previous elections of Marius to the consulship without personal *professio* furnish a notable example of the practice of former times. Cf. App., *B. C.* II. 8. 28 ff.

26. mortem obiit repentinam: *met with a sudden death,* near the beginning of 58 B.C., at Nola in Campania in the same room in which

Augustus later died; see *Aug.* 100. 1. Augustus was therefore in his fifth year (*quadrimus*) at the time of his father's death; see *Aug.* 8. 1. It looks as if Octavius would have been too late in arriving, in any event, to stand for the consulship of 58 B.C., despite the fact that the elections had been deferred from July till October of 59 B.C. Cf. Cic., *ad Att.* II. 21. 5 (written in July, 59 B.C.): *Bibuli qui sit exitus futurus nescio. . . . qui cum comitia in mensem Octobrem distulisset,* etc. Augustus dedicated a piece of statuary to his father on the Palatine; see Plin., *N. H.* XXXVI. 5. 36. **superstitibus liberis**: *survived by his children.* Note the difference between the Latin idiom and the English idiom, as indicated in the translation. The relationships here mentioned are illustrated in this stemma:

C. Julius Caesar m. Aurelia

C. Julius Caesar — Julia m. M. Atius Balbus

Ancharia m. C. Octavius m. Atia m. L. Marcius Philippus

Octavia Maior — Octavia Minor — Augustus

27. Octavia maiore: not mentioned elsewhere. Plutarch's statement (*Ant.* XXXI) implying that there was only one Octavia, daughter of Ancharia and half sister of Augustus, is not consistent with Dio's assertion (LIV. 35. 4) that at her death the body of an Octavia, sister of Augustus, was placed in the *heroum Iulium*, which would indicate connection with the *gens Iulia.* **Octavia minore**: own sister of Augustus; married C. Marcellus (consul of 50 B.C.) in the year 54 B.C. and later, in 41 or 40 B.C., was married to Mark Antony: cf. *Jul.* 27. 1; Dio XLVIII. 31. 3; Plut., *Ant.* XXXI. Her son by Marcellus was the Marcellus mentioned in *Aug.* 63. 1 and 66. 3; cf. *Tib.* 6. 4, 10. 1. Julius Caesar was unsuccessful in his attempts to effect a match between her and Pompey. Her marriage to Antony was a political one and more than once she was the means of reconciling husband and brother. Her devotion to Antony despite his infidelity is indicative of her noble character. She was divorced from Antony in 32 B.C. and died in 11 B.C., not in 9 B.C. as stated by Suetonius (*Aug.* 61. 2). Her son, Marcellus, had died in 23 B.C. In 33 B.C. Augustus had built a *porticus Octaviae* surrounded by other buildings. For the whole question of an elder and a younger Octavia see Drumann, *Gesch. Roms*, IV². 250 ff.

28. M. Atio Balbo: whose descent Vergil derives from Atys, the playmate of Iulus; see *Aen.* V. 568 f.:

Alter Atys, genus unde Atii duxere Latini,
Parvus Atys pueroque puer dilectus Iulo.

The very early connection between the *gens Atia* and the *gens Iulia* is thus gracefully typified. In replying to Antony's contemptuous remarks about Atia, Cicero (*Phil.* III. 6. 16) says: *Sed si Aricinam uxorem non probas, cur probas Tusculanam? Quamquam huius sanctissimae feminae atque optimae pater, M. Atius Balbus, in primis honestus, praetorius fuit.*

29. Iulia: whose *laudatio* Augustus pronounced in his twelfth year; cf. *Aug.* 8. 1.

30. paterna stirpe Aricinus: *an Arician on his father's side;* Aricia, modern La Riccia, an ancient and celebrated city of the Latin League at the foot of the Alban Mount on the Via Appia, sixteen (Roman) miles from Rome: cf. Hor., *Sat.* I. 5. 1. In Cicero's day it was a flourishing municipality; cf. Cic., *Phil.* III. 6. 15 f. **senatoriis imaginibus**: *senatorial portrait masks.* Only those whose ancestors had held curule magistracies were entitled to place waxen masks of the deceased officials in their *atria*, with inscriptions (*tituli*) containing the names and deeds of the persons portrayed. These masks might be borne in funeral processions. These prerogatives were known as the *ius imaginum.*

31. a matre . . . gradu: *on his mother's side was very closely related to Pompey the Great;* the preposition *a* has the force of *a parte:* see Introd. II. § 5. *a.* (3). The exact relationship is not known. For the order of the words, *Magnum Pompeium*, see Introd. II. § 10. *b.* (2) and note to page 4, line 1.

32. praeturae: in 62 B.C., when he served in Sardinia. **inter vigintiviros**: *as a member of the board of twenty commissioners.* Pompey was also one of the commissioners, while Cicero declined to serve; see Cic., *ad Att.* II. 12. 1.; Vell. II. 45. 2. For the facts of the case consult *Jul.* 20. 3, with notes.

Page 48. **1. Iulia lege**: one of the most important measures enacted in the first consulship of Caesar, 59 B.C. Rejected in the senate, it was adopted by the burgesses and a commission was appointed with Pompey and Crassus at its head. Bibulus, the colleague of Caesar, was forcibly expelled from the senate house on this occasion. Cf. Cic., *ad Att.* II. 3. 3. See note to page 9, line 11.

2. despiciens . . . originem: *by way of disparaging the lineage of Augustus's mother.* Cicero, replying to Antony's strictures on the ancestry of Augustus, says (*Phil.* III. 6. 15): *Videte quam despiciamur omnes qui sumus e municipiis, id est, omnes plane. Quotus enim quisque nostrum non est? Quod autem municipium non contemnit is qui Aricinum tanto opere despicit*, etc. Antony apparently disregarded the *imagines senatoriae* of Balbus and his relationship to Pompey.

3. Afri generis: predicate genitive of quality. **modo unguentariam**, etc.: *taunts him with his having kept at one time a perfumer's shop at Aricia, at another a bakery.* Cicero's feeling for such pursuits as the former of these is thus expressed (*de Off.* I. 42. 150): *Minimeque artes hae probandae, quae ministrae sunt voluptatum. . . . Adde huc, si placet, unguentarios, saltatores totumque ludum talarium.* Cf. *Vit.* 2. 1, *Antiochi cuiusdam furnariam exercentis; Vesp.* 16. 1, *negotiationes . . . propalam exercuit.*

5. Cassius . . . Parmensis: Cassius of Parma, some twenty-five miles southeast of Cremona on the Via Aemilia, was one of the assassins of Caesar, joined forces with Sextus Pompeius after the battle of Philippi and later, in 35 B.C., allied himself with Antony. After Actium he was put to death in Athens by command of Octavian. According to Velleius (II. 87. 3), he was the last of Caesar's assassins to perish. He is mentioned by Horace (*Ep.* I. 4. 3), but is to be distinguished from the Cassius Etruscus of Horace, *Sat.* I. 10. 61 f. He was the author of tragedies (cf. Acro on Hor., *Ep.* I. 4. 3) and a writer of epigrams. M. A. Weichert (*Commentatio II de Cassio Parmensi Poeta*, Grimae, 1834, pp. 36 ff.) thinks the epigram quoted by Suetonius (*Aug.* 70. 2) on the Sicilian expedition of Augustus was composed by this Cassius and would refer the anonymous verses of *Aug.* 70. 1 to the same author. **quadam epistula**: written, probably, while with Antony at Alexandria, 35–31 B.C. Antony's letters may have been written at about this same time. There is a noticeable similarity between the scurrilous letters of these two men.

6. ut pistoris . . . ut nummulari: the one on his mother's side, the other on his father's. On *nummulari* see note to page 47, line 8, and Introd. II. § 1. *b.* **taxat**: *taunts, inveighs against.* On page 70, line 21, it occurs in its literal meaning of 'rate', 'appraise'.

7. Materna tibi farina, etc.: *your mother's meal comes from a very rough bake-shop of Aricia; it was kneaded into shape by a money-changer from Nerulum with hands all discolored with filthy lucre.* Antony's abusive charges are here repeated by Cassius in highly allegorical language to indicate the humble parentage of Augustus. Possibly Cassius in-

tended to strike directly at the parents of Augustus, with the implication that they still engaged in the trades of their ancestors.

9. collybo: *rate of exchange, agio;* a Greek word, κόλλυβος, relating to finance, said to be of Semitic or Phoenician origin : see Introd. II. § 1. *d.* So the money-changers of the Bible (*Matt.* xxi. 12) are called κολλυβισταί. But according to the *Thes. Ling. Lat.*, *s.v. collybus*, Suetonius did not understand the meaning of Cassius, who used *collybus* in the sense of a kind of cake. Cicero, however, says (*Verr.* II. 3. 78. 181) : *Ex omni pecunia quam aratoribus solvere debuisti, certis nominibus deductiones fieri solebant: primum pro spectatione et collybo, deinde pro nescio quo cerario.* **decoloratis**: *strongly discolored, all discolored;* a stronger word than *colorare:* cf. Hor., *Od.* II. 1. 34 f., *Quod mare Dauniae non decoloravere caedes?* **Nerulonensis**: Nerulum was an insignificant town in Lucania near Thurii; see note to page 47, line 7. **mensarius**: note *nummulari* three lines above and see note to page 47, line 8.

Chapter 5. Birth of Augustus, September 23, 63 B.C.

11. conss.: = *consulibus.* Cicero and Gaius Antonius were the consuls of 63 B.C. Cf. Vell. II. 36. 1 : *Consulatui Ciceronis non mediocre adiecit decus natus eo anno divus Augustus abhinc annos nonaginta.* **VIIII. Kal. Octob.**: i.e. *ante diem VIIII. (nonum) Kalendas Octobris*, September 23, according to the reformed Julian Calendar, which became effective January 1, 45 B.C. See *Jul.* 40, with notes. Dio (LV. 6. 6 f.) expressly states that Augustus named the month Sextilis after himself contrary to the wish of the people that September, his birth-month, should be so called. Cf. *C. I. L.* I., p. 326, and see note to page 102, line 17. **paulo ante**, etc.: the early hour permitted his father's attendance upon the senate that day, though with noticeable tardiness; see *Aug.* 94. 5.

12. regione . . . Bubula: *at the Ox-Heads in the Palatine quarter;* see Introd. II. § 5. *b.* (3). The four original *regiones* of Rome were the *Palatina, Collina* or *Viminalis, Suburana* and *Esquilina;* see note to page 19, line 30. The *regio Palatina* embraced the Palatine Hill, the Cermalus and the Velia; cf. Varr., *L. L.* V. 8. 45 ff. Augustus was born, therefore, on the Palatine Hill in a quarter or street on its northeastern side known as the Ox-Heads near the place afterwards occupied by the temple of Apollo. After the death of Augustus a shrine was erected here, in what was then *regio X* of his division of the city. The name of this spot would suggest butchers' stalls in the vicinity, unless it go back to a time associated with the earliest settlement of the Palatine.

A frieze of ox-heads may even have given the house its name. See Platner, *Anc. Rome*², 143. **sacrarium** : a shrine or chapel in which were placed objects of peculiar reverence in the family. See Becker-Göll, *Gallus*, II². (1881), 273 f.

13. aliquanto post quam : see note to page 40, line 30. One other occurrence of the ablative and *postquam* is found ; *Claud.* 39. 1, *paulo post quam . . . decubuit.* **excessit** : for *excessit e* (*de*, *a*) *vita*, which would be Cicero's phrase ; rarely, *excessit vita.* Suetonius uses both the verb and the noun (*excessus*) absolutely, in this sense. *Excedere*, = *mori*, also occurs in *Claud.* 45, *Vesp.* 2. 1, *Tit.* 11 ; *excessus*, = *mors*, in *Tib.* 22, 70. 3 ; *Cal.* 1. 1, 9, 48. 1 ; *Ner.* 5. 2 ; *Vesp.* 3. **Nam** : introduces *decretum est* (line 20) and the reason for *ubi . . . habet.*

14. senatus actis : *in the proceedings of the senate*, first officially recorded and published, together with *acta diurna*, during Julius Caesar's first consulship in a *commentarius rerum urbanarum* available for use in the provinces ; cf. *Jul.* 20. 1, and see note to page 9, line 7 ; also, Cic., *ad Fam.* VIII. 11. 4. Augustus suspended their publication, but they were still compiled and kept by a *curator actorum senatus* or *ab actis senatus* and often quoted by later historians ; see *Aug.* 36 ; Tac., *Ann.* V. 4. 1. Dio (LIII. 19. 2 ff.) bewails the change as making it more difficult for historians to arrive at the true course of events. Tiberius may have restored their publication ; cf. *Tib.* 73. 1. At least access to the recorded enactments was sometimes obtainable. See Momms., *Röm. Staatsr.* III. 1015–1021. On the use of the ablative see Introd. II. § 4. *r.* **C. Laetorius** : not otherwise known. Shuckburgh suggests, in his note on this passage, that his family may have been raised to the patriciate by Augustus since the Laetorii known to us are all plebeians.

15. in deprecanda . . . poena : *in his plea against the more severe penalty for adultery.* According to the *lex Iulia* (*de adulteriis et stupris*) enacted by Augustus in 17 B.C., the full penalty was fixed at *relegatio* for both parties, a forfeiture of half his property by the man and of one third of her property and half her dowry by the woman. The *gravior poena* seems to have involved a harsher form of banishment, *deportatio*, with loss of property and civil status. Under certain conditions the father or injured husband might inflict death. Cf. Tac., *Ann.* II. 50. 2, 4, IV. 42. 3. Augustus himself was censured for punishing the paramours of his daughter and granddaughter with death or banishment ; cf. Tac., *Ann.* III. 24. 3, *clementiam maiorum suasque ipse leges egrediebatur.* But he cloaked his severity under a charge of *maiestas.*

16. praeter . . . natales : *besides his youth and extraction.* *Natales*

in this sense is post-Augustan and is often employed by Tacitus: *e.g. Agr.* 6. 1, *splendidis natalibus ortam; Hist.* I. 49, *claritas natalium; Ann.* XI. 21. 3, *dedecus natalium;* but usually in connection with some expression more definitely designating the ancestry denoted. **hoc**: anticipates *esse . . . attigisset.*

17. allegaret: *recounted, urged upon;* post-Augustan in this sense: cf. page 75, lines 15 *f.*, *merita erga populum R. adlegantes.* In the classical period the verb meant 'to commission' one on a matter of private business. **esse possessorem**: sc. *se;* Introd. II. § 10. *d.* (2). **velut aedituum**: *the sacristan, so to speak.* Marquardt (*Röm. Staatsv.* III.[2] 214 ff.) distinguishes between the *aedituus magister*, who had general supervision of the temple or shrine, and the *aedituus minister* or *aedituus a sacrario*, the temple servant who really took care of it. The older word was *aeditimus*, the later *aedituus;* cf. Varr., *R. R.* I. 2. 1. At the burning of the temple on the Capitoline Domitian *apud aedituum clam pernoctavit;* see *Dom.* 1. 2.

18. soli quod . . . attigisset: a Roman child at the time of its birth was laid at the father's feet that he might formally acknowledge it as his own by raising (*tollere*) it from the ground. Allusion is here made to this rite; cf. *Ner.* 6. 1. See Macr., *Sat.* I. 12. 22: *quod, ut supra diximus, infantes partu editi non prius vocem edunt quam attigerint humum.* **Divus**: especially appropriate in this connection.

19. donari: *be pardoned;* here used for the more classical *condonari:* cf. Liv. VIII. 35. 5, *noxae damnatus donatur populo Romano, donatur tribuniciae potestati.* The infinitive with *peteret* is mainly poetic; see Introd. II. § 9. *b.* (1). Compare its use on page 96, line 11, *hortatur ferenda esse praesentia.*

Chapter 6. Babyhood of Augustus

21. Nutrimentorum . . . locus: *his nursery is pointed out to this day.* **in avito . . . Velitras**: sc. *praedio, in his grandfather's country house near Velitrae.* Note that these phrases are inserted between *locus* and its adjectives, *permodicus* and *instar.* See *Aug.* 94. 7 for the story associated with his childhood days there. Cf. note to page 46, line 1. For the word order see Introd. II. § 10. *b.* (4).

22. permodicus . . . instar: *of very modest dimensions and resembling a pantry.* The *cella penaria*, or (later spelling) *penuaria*, was the place where the general household supplies (*penus*) were kept. In

the later Roman house it was located in the rear buildings (*penetrale domus*). Cf. Marquardt, *Röm. Staatsv.* III.[2] 121 f. The genitive follows *instar*. For *permodicus* see Introd. II. § 1. *b*.

23. tenetque vicinitatem, etc.: *and the opinion prevails in the neighborhood that he was also born there.* The *tamquam* clause is here used after *opinio* instead of the infinitive with subject accusative. Both *tamquam* and *quasi* are used by Suetonius after words like *rumor*, *opinio*, *suspicio*, *fama;* cf. page 52, lines 31 f., *rumore . . . dilato*, *quasi . . . necasset; Tit.* 5. 3, *Unde nata suspicio est, quasi . . . temptasset;* Tac., *Ann.* XIV. 22. 1, *opinio est tamquam mutationem regis portendat.* See Introd. II. § 6. *n*.

24. Huc introire . . . religio est: *it is an offense against religious scruples to enter here except of necessity and after purification. Caste* refers to ritualistic purification; cf. Cic., *N. D.* I. 2. 3: *Haec enim omnia pure atque caste tribuenda deorum numini ita sunt. Religio est* contains a negative idea almost equivalent to *nemo audet;* cf. Ter., *Heaut. Tim.* 228, *nam nil esse mihi religiost dicere*, 'for I have scruples against telling that I have nothing'. For the use of the infinitive, *introire*, see Introd. II. § 9. *b*. (1). **concepta opinione veteri**, etc.: *because of a conviction of long standing that those who heedlessly approach it are confronted with a kind of fright and terror. Veteri* here = *iamdudum*, adjective for adverb; cf. page 55, line 16, *seras condiciones pacis temptantem*, and see Introd. II. § 3. *e*. On the *quasi*-clause see note to line 23, above.

26. sed et: *and what is more*, equivalent to the Greek ἀλλὰ μήν, ἀλλὰ μὴν καί. *Sed* is not disjunctive in this collocation, but adds a statement by way of further confirmation of what has been previously stated; cf. page 63, line 15, *Sed et ceteros . . . hortatus est;* page 72, line 6, *Sed et Troiae lusum edidit.* See Introd. II. § 6. *e*. **mox confirmata**: note chiastic order of *concepta . . . veteri . . . mox confirmata;* see Introd. II. § 10. *h*. For *mox* see Introd. II. § 6. *i*.

27. seu temptandi causa: *or to test the matter;* to satisfy his curiosity.

28. cubitum: from *cubare*.

29. exturbatus: *routed out;* a favorite Plautine word for violent ejection from the house: cf. Plaut., *Trin.* 137, *Ille qui mandavit eum exturbasti ex aedibus?* **incerta**: *unaccountable*, *mysterious;* the origin of which was unknown.

30. cum strato simul: *bedding and all.*

Chapter 7. The Surname 'Thurinus'. Names of Adoption and Honor

31. cognomen Thurino: the Roman's *praenomen* was his personal or 'given' name, his *nomen* indicated his *gens*; his *cognomen* was often, as here, a nickname in its origin. Strictly speaking, however, this is an *agnomen*, since the *cognomen* would naturally indicate the family. Augustus was in his third year when, in 60 B.C., his father was successful against the renegades at Thurii. The name may, therefore, have been given him because of family pride in the father's success, as was the case with Germanicus. Ihne has shown (*R. Gesch.* VII. 304. *n.* 2) that another name assigned him by Dio (XLV. 1. 1) should be read Κωπίας, not Καιπίας of the MSS., and the revised Dindorf edition accepts this reading. It is thus a translation of *Thurinus*, since *Copia* was the name given to the Roman colony settled at Thurii; see note to page 47, line 7. Καιπίας is found only in Zonaras (X. 13), who copies Dio. Consult *Class. Rev.* IX. 367 and Drumann, *Gesch. Roms*, IV.[2] 258. With the case of *Thurino* cf. Liv. I. 34. 3, *puero . . . Egerio inditum nomen.* **in memoriam**: so on page 13, line 7, *in filiae memoriam*, and *Cal.* 15. 2, *in memoriam patris*. Cicero (*Brut.* XVI. 62) has *ad memoriam laudum domesticarum*. See Introd. II. § 5. *k.* (1). (*a*). For the inconcinnity here see Introd. II. § 10. *a.*

32. originis: with reference to 'birth-place', 'home' of his ancestors. Not only Antony and others spoke of Thurii as the home of his ancestors, but Augustus is himself said to have expressed surprise that a previous name in the family should be used as a reproach against him; cf. *Aug.* 2. 3. **regione Thurina**: Suetonius omits the preposition *in* with *regione* when accompanied by a defining genitive or an adjective indicative of a place; cf. line 12, above, *regione Palati*; page 20, line 15, *regione Marti campi*. See Introd. II. § 4. *r.* **recens eo nato**: *not long after his son's birth*; in the third year of the young Octavius. *Recens* may here be an adjective used adverbially, while in *Tib.* 1. 1, *Romam recens conditam*, it is an adverb proper.

Page 49. 1. adversus fugitivos, etc.: see note to page 47, line 16.

2. cognominatum: sc. *esse*, *had the surname given him*; mostly post-Augustan: cf. *Tib.* 17. 2, *Censuerunt . . . nonnulli ut Pius cognominaretur.* **satis certa probatione**: *on quite sure evidence*; in this sense (= *argumentum*) *probatio* is post-Augustan.

3. tradiderim: *may assert;* so-called potential subjunctive. Sue-

tonius uses both the present and the perfect tense in this way; cf. page 53, line 28, *putem*. See Introd. II. § 8. *a*. **puerilem**: note use of adjective instead of *pueri;* see Introd. II. § 3. *c*. **imagunculam**: *a statuette* or *bust;* occurs only here, unless Ihm's reading *⟨im⟩agunculam puellarem* be accepted for *Ner.* 56. See Introd. II. § 1. *e*. **aeream**: *of bronze;* for more common *aeneam;* cf. *Vesp.* 8. 5, *aerearumque tabularum.*

4. ferreis . . . litteris: probably fastened upon the bronze by the art known as 'empaistic' (ἐμπαιστικὴ τέχνη) among the Greeks. This seems to be indicated by *exolescentibus*, 'rubbed off', 'scarcely legible'. See Marquardt, *Das Privatleben der Römer*², 684. **litteris hoc nomine**: observe the collocation of two instrumental ablatives.

5. dono: dative of purpose; see Introd. II. § 4. *g*. **principi**: Hadrian, whose private secretary was Suetonius; one of the few personal touches in our author. See Introd. I, pages VIII, XI, XIII f.

6. cubiculi Lares: *Lares of his bedchamber;* might include statues and busts of persons, particularly of deified emperors, held in especial reverence in the family. In *Dom.* 17. 2 we read of a *Puer qui curae Larum cubiculi ex consuetudine assistens interfuit caedi.* Nero kept his artistic crowns and statues of himself *in cubiculis circum lectos*, according to Suetonius (*Ner.* 25. 2). **Sed et**: see note to page 48, line 26. **Antonio in epistulis**: see note to page 47, line 6.

7. per contumeliam: *by way of insult;* see Introd. II. § 5. *n*. (3).

8. prius: see note to page 48, line 31.

9. Gai Caesaris: more exactly, *Gai Iulii Caesaris.* After his adoption by Julius Caesar in his will, the young Octavius became Gaius Iulius Caesar Octavianus, his gentile name being retained, as was customary, in the form of an adjective. Although the title was assumed immediately upon his return to Italy in April, 44 B.C., the formal transfer by *lex curiata* to the *gens* and *familia* of Julius Caesar was postponed through the intrigues of Antony and occurred only after Mutina, in 43 B.C., and Octavian's election to the consulship. See *Jul.* 83. 2; *Aug.* 68, 94. 11; Dio XLV. 5. 3 f. **Augusti cognomen**: formally conferred by the senate on January 16, 27 B.C.; see *M. A.*, Gr., XXXIV. 17. 22 f. Augustus refers to this event in *M. A.* XXXIV. 6. 13 ff.: *In consulatu sexto et septimo, bella ubi civilia exstinxeram per consensum universorum potitus rerum omnium, rem publicam ex mea potestate in senatus populique Romani arbitrium transtuli. Quo pro merito meo senatus consulto Aug. appellatus sum.* Cf. *C. I. L.* I, page 384; Dio LIII. 16. 6. While Octavian scrupulously declined titles that smacked of sovereignty, he ap-

preciated the advantage and influence of distinctively honorary titles. Of those suggested by various persons, 'Quirinus' and 'Romulus', though not wholly displeasing, nevertheless had odious associations with royalty and were for that reason rejected; cf. Dio LIII. 16. 7. No such objection could possibly attach to the new title 'Augustus', expressive of sanctity and rich in hallowed associations. Cf. Ov., *Fast.* I. 609–613:

Sancta vocant augusta patres: augusta vocantur
Templa sacerdotum rite dicata manu;
Huius et augurium dependet origine verbi,
Et quodcumque sua Iuppiter auget ope.
Augeat imperium nostri ducis, augeat annos.

Dio (LIII. 16. 8) says: 'He was given the surname Augustus as being something more than the common run of men: for everything that is held in the highest honor and sanctity is given the appellation "august".'

10. testamento: cf. *Jul.* 83. 2. **maioris avunculi**: *great-great uncle* (*proaviae frater*), which does not express the relationship intended; here used for *magnus avunculus*, 'great uncle', 'grandmother's brother'. Julius Caesar's sister Julia was the mother of Atia, who was the mother of Augustus; see stemma in note to page 47, line 26. *Maior avunculus* occurs again in this sense in *Claud.* 3. 2, *avunculus maior Augustus.* Cf. line 24, below, *avunculum;* page 85, line 31, *avunculi;* page 101, line 25, *avunculus Caesar.*

11. (*L.*) **Munati Planci sententia**: *on the motion of* (*L.*) *Munatius Plancus*, consul with M. Lepidus in 42 B.C. and adherent of Antony till 32 B.C., when he transferred his allegiance to Octavian. Horace addresses him in the seventh Ode of the first book. See Drumann, *Gesch. Roms*, IV.[2] 223 ff. **quibusdam**: their names are not known.

13. conditorem urbis: as founder of the empire, second founder of the city. **praevaluisset**: sc. *sententia Planci;* (*the proposal*) *had carried. Praevalere* is Silver Latin for *plus valere*, *pollere;* cf. Plin., *Ep.* II. 11. 6, *Quae sententia non praevaluit modo;* Tac., *Hist.* II. 65, *Auctoritas Cluvii praevaluit, ut puniri ultro libertum suum Vitellius iuberet.* **ut . . . vocaretur**: explains the subject of *praevaluisset.*

14. ampliore: *more honorable*, *more distinguished;* cf. Flor., *Epit.* II. 34. 66, *sed sanctius et reverentius visum est nomen Augusti.*

15. religiosa et in quibus: a favorite use of adjective and relative clause; see Introd. II. § 10. *a* and note to page 47, line 5. **augurato**: *after taking the auguries*, *by augural rites;* an absolute use of the participle frequent in Livy: cf. Liv. I. 18. 6, *sicut Romulus augurato*

urbe condenda regnum adeptus est. Similar is the use of *auspicato* in Cic., *de Div.* I. 2. 3: *Principio huius urbis parens Romulus non solum auspicato urbem condidisse, sed ipse etiam optimus augur fuisse traditur.* Such an ablative approximates the adverbial usage seen on page 7, line 22, *festinato;* page 89, line 7, *secreto.* See Introd. II. § 9. *a.* (4).

16. dicantur: subjunctive mood as stating the cause assigned in support of the motion of Plancus. **ab auctu**: the derivation that connects *augustus* with *augeo* is probably correct; see the Ovid passage quoted in note to line 9, above. *Auctus* (= *incrementum*), 'increase (in dignity)', is rare till the post-Augustan period.

17. gestu gustuve: *movement or feeding.* The alliteration is accidental. The reference is probably to the movements of the sacred chickens and the manner in which they took their food. On such auguries see Greenidge, *Rom. Publ. Life*, page 164 *et passim.* Such a derivation fails to explain the radical part of the word, *aug-*. **Ennius**: in *Annales*, frg. 389 (Baehr., *P. L. M.*[2]), quoted by Varro, *R. R.* III. 1. 2. The hexameter verse preceding this one is *Septingenti sunt paulo plus aut minus anni.*

18. augurio: *by augury; i.e.* by the flight of birds or the feeding of the sacred chickens. *Augur* contains the root of *avis.* Possibly *augustus*, itself a word of religious import, through popular etymology came to be associated with the same root because of its frequent use with such words of ritual. Both the idea of 'augury' and that of 'increase', as seen from the Ovid passage (in note to line 9, above), were at least in the Roman mind in connection with this word. Note the paronomasia in *augusto augurio.*

Chapter 8. Early Honors. Studies at Apollonia. Caesar's Heir. Periods of his Power

20. Quadrimus: *i.e.* after September 23, 59 B.C. As seen in the note to page 47, line 26, Octavius died while returning from Macedonia towards the close of 59 B.C. or early in 58 B.C. **Duodecimum annum agens**: *in his twelfth year;* before September 23, 51 B.C.

21. aviam Juliam: see note to line 10, above. The young Octavius's naturally weak health was not improved, Drumann thinks (*Gesch. Roms*, IV.[2] 261), by the excessive care bestowed upon him by Julia and Atia. **defunctam**, etc.: *delivered a funeral oration to the assembled people in honor of.* Our author uses *morte defungi* or *defungi* alone as equal to *mori;* see page 45, line 28, *neque sua morte defunctus est;*

page 106, line 1, *defunctum* (sc. *esse*) *quempiam*. *Defunctus*, in particular, was used for *mortuus;* cf. page 3, line 12, *defunctas;* page 81, line 26, *defunctae; Tib.* 6. 4, 51. 2. In the same way Julius pronounced the eulogy over his deceased wife and aunt *e more pro rostris* (page 3, line 13) and Tiberius *defunctum patrem pro rostris laudavit* (*Tib.* 6. 4). For similar use of *pro contione* see page 43, line 6, and page 54, line 28. **Quadriennio post**: he assumed the white robe of manhood in his sixteenth year, October 18, 48 B.C., four years after the *laudatio funebris* of his grandmother. See *C. I. L.* X. 8375.

22. militaribus donis: some of these are enumerated in *Aug.* 25. 3. Among the honorary insignia of war were the *hasta pura*, the lance without the iron point; *vexillum*, ensign; or such decorations as *coronae* (crowns), *armillae* (bracelets), *torques* (necklaces), *phalerae* (metal disks or bosses for the breast), *fibulae* (buckles) and *cornicula* (ornaments for the helmet). These were conferred in the presence of the assembled troops and might be worn at reviews and other public ceremonies. **triumpho Caesaris Africano**: in 46 B.C., upon his return from Africa; see *Jul.* 37. 1 and note to page 19, line 1. Thapsus had been fought in April of the same year. The African triumph was officially a triumph over Juba and the Moors, not over Scipio, for the same reason that Octavian after Actium triumphed over Cleopatra and Egypt, not over Antony.

23. quanquam expers belli: *albeit having no part in the war;* not because of his years, as Suetonius states, but on account of his weak health and at his mother's solicitation: see Nic. Dam., *Vit. Aug.* 6; Drumann, *Gesch. Roms*, IV.[2] 263. *Quamquam* is often thus used with adjective and participle; cf. page 52, line 4, *quamquam invalidus atque aeger;* page 92, line 8, *quamquam . . . neglegens;* and see Introd. II. § 6. *m*. For the case of *belli* see Introd. II. § 4. *a*.

24. Profectum mox: in December, 46 B.C. The battle of Munda occurred the following March, but Julius did not return to Rome till September, 45 B.C. **avunculum**: sc. *magnum* or *maiorem;* object of *demeruit.* See note to line 10, above. **in Hispanias**: *to the Spains; i.e.* the two provinces of Spain. The Englishmen's 'to the States' may be compared; so 'the Netherlands', 'the Jerseys', 'the Brazils'. Dio (XLIII. 41. 3) also states that Octavius was his uncle's companion on this expedition, but makes no mention of his shipwreck.

25. Pompei liberos: Gnaeus was killed, soon after Munda (March 17), on April 11, 45 B.C. Sextus was to be an important figure in politics and civil warfare for a decade longer. He was finally murdered

in 35 B.C.; see note to page 54, line 18. **vixdum firmus**, etc.: *although he had scarcely recovered his strength as yet from a severe illness;* cf. Introd. II. § 5. *a.* (1). Nicolas of Damascus states (*Vit. Aug.* 9 f.) that this illness was caused by too close attention to his duties in connection with the 'Greek' theater intrusted to him by his uncle, but that his uncle left orders for Octavius to follow him after his recovery. From earliest years Augustus was subject to attacks which caused grave anxiety to his family and, in later years, throughout the empire. Two notable illnesses were a protracted one at Tarraco during his Spanish campaign of 27–25 B.C., and one in Rome, two years later, in his eleventh consulship, 23 B.C., when his recovery was despaired of. On the latter occasion he summoned a council of his chief advisers to his bed chamber and handed over to Piso, his colleague in the consulship, the *rationarium imperii* (page 62, line 7) and gave his signet ring to Agrippa. See note to page 62, line 3.

26. infestas: = *infestatas*, *beset by the enemy*, exposed to their attacks. **paucissimis comitibus**: Nicolas of Damascus (*Vit. Aug.* 10) states that Octavius chose only the fleetest and most active of his slaves to accompany him.

27. subsecutus: *following hard after (him)*, but not meeting with his uncle, probably, before the battle of Munda, March 17. Subordination by means of participles is here noteworthy: *profectum*, *naufragio . . . facto*, *subsecutus*, *approbata . . . indole*. See Introd. II. § 9. *a* and II. § 9. *a.* (2). **magno opere demeruit**: *put under great obligations*, *greatly endeared himself to* his uncle. *Demereo* (more often, *demereor*) in this sense, with an accusative of the person (*avunculum*), as here, is post-Augustan; cf. *Claud.* 40. 3; *Oth.* 4. 2; *Vit.* 2. 5; *Vesp.* 2. 3.

28. approbata . . . indole: *quickly winning approval, also, for the native qualities of his character.* As often happens in Suetonius, an additional statement of importance is appended by means of an ablative absolute. **super itineris industriam**: *over and above the energy manifested 'en route'*; cf. *Claud.* 26. 2, *Quam cum comperisset super cetera flagitia atque dedecora C. Silio etiam nupsisse*, and see Introd. II. § 5. *r.* (2). (*c*). *Itineris* is a notable instance of the objective genitive; see Introd. II. § 4. *d.*

30. Caesare . . . destinante: as the crowning achievement of his military career, Caesar was planning a campaign against the Parthians, a constant menace on the eastern frontier. His intention was to subdue the Dacians, or Getae, before proceeding to Asia. The expedition was said to have the sanction of the Sibylline books, which stated that the

Parthians could be conquered only by a king; cf. Plut., *Caes.* LX. Hence arose the report that L. Cotta would propose that Caesar should have the title of king conferred on him; cf. *Jul.* 79. 3. **post receptas Hispanias**: a construction becoming increasingly frequent from Livy's time.

31. Apolloniam: in Illyricum, directly opposite Brundisium. While not a university center like Athens and Rhodes, Greek teachers may have resorted thither as a place most accessible from Italy. Octavius seems to have taken his teachers with him; cf. *Aug.* 89. 1. His main object was doubtless the training in military matters which would fit him for the Parthian campaign; cf. Vell. II. 59, 4: *Et patratis bellis civilibus ad erudiendam liberalibus diciplinis singularis indolem iuvenis Apolloniam eum in studia miserat, mox belli Getici ac deinde Parthici habiturus commilitonem.*

Page 50. 1. studiis vacavit: *devoted himself to his studies*, consisting quite as much in the training in arms as in the arts, no doubt, since he was to be one of the two *magistri equitum* on Caesar's Parthian campaign. In his retinue at this time were Agrippa and Maecenas, his privy councillors of the future. Cf. Dio XLIII. 51. 7; Nic. Dam., *Vit. Aug.* 31. **Utque . . . comperit**: according to Appian (*B. C.* III. 9. 32), it was during the sixth month of his stay at Apollonia that Augustus learned of his uncle's assassination. The first news came in a letter from his mother. Only upon his landing at Lupiae, in the vicinity of Brundisium, did he learn of Caesar's will and his own adoption. Cf. App., *B. C.* III. 10 f. **occisum**: sc. *esse;* Introd. II. § 10. *d.* (1).

2. legiones imploraret: such an appeal to the legions quartered in Macedonia awaiting the Parthian campaign was advised by Agrippa and Salvidienus Rufus; cf. Vell. II. 59. 5.

4. urbe repetita: the time of his entrance into the city cannot be exactly determined, but it was probably at the end of April or beginning of May, 44 B.C., in the absence of Antony, who was then consul. Velleius (II. 59. 6) thus describes his return to Rome: *Cui adventanti Romam inmanis amicorum occurrit frequentia, et cum intraret urbem solis orbis super caput eius curvatus aequaliter rotundatusque in colorem arcus velut coronam tanti mox viri capiti imponens conspectus est.* **dubitante . . . dissuadente**: chiastic order; see Introd. II. § 10. *h.*

5. (*L.*) **Marcio Philippo**: son of the orator, and consul in 56 B.C. The date of his marriage to Atia is not known. Apparently, he took a lively interest in the young Octavius. Nicolas of Damascus says (*Vit.*

Aug. 3) : 'Caesar was accordingly brought up in association with Philip as with a father and gave indications of great promise'. Cf. *Aug.* 29. 5.

6. **ab eo tempore** : April or May, 44 B.C. **exercitibus comparatis** : with reference to the army first levied against Antony, at Mutina, 44 B.C. Cf. *M. A.* I. 1. 1 : *Annos undeviginti natus exercitum privato consilio et privata impensa comparavi.*

7. **primum**, etc. : from the formation of the so-called Second Triumvirate, November 27, 43 B.C., to the degradation of Lepidus in 36 B.C. **deinde**, etc. : from the compulsory abdication of Lepidus, 36 B.C., to the battle of Actium in 31 B.C. Antony's death in 30 B.C. left Octavian undisputed sole ruler. The twelve years of joint rule, it will be observed, are divided into two parts by *primum* and *deinde*.

8. **novissime**, etc. : the last period in this brief summary of Augustus's rule is defined by the death of Antony, 30 B.C., and the death of Augustus in 14 A.D.

Chapter 9. Five Civil Wars

10. **singillatim** : see Introd. II. § 1. *f.*

11. **neque per tempora**, etc. : *not in chronological order*, *but by topics.* The topical method usually followed by Suetonius is markedly in contrast with the conscious aim of Tacitus, the philosophy of history ; cf. Tac., *Hist.* I. 4, *ut non modo casus eventusque rerum*, *qui plerumque fortuiti sunt*, *sed ratio etiam causaeque noscantur.* A comparative study of the methods of Tacitus, Suetonius, Plutarch and Dio in the Lives of Galba and Otho may be found in Wiedemann's dissertation on this subject, Berlin, 1857. For an analysis of the *Augustus* see the headings of the various chapters in the notes of this edition. The first class of subjects is that of the civil wars extending through chapter 18.

13. **Mutinense**, etc. : chapters 10–12 are devoted to the civil war of Mutina ; chapter 13, to that of Philippi ; chapters 14–15, to that of Perusia ; chapter 16, to the Sicilian war ; chapters 17–18, to Actium. Note the asyndeton in enumeration : Introd. II. § 10. *f.* (5).

Chapter 10. Cause of the Wars. Break with Antony. Conduct at Mutina

19. **Omnium bellorum**, etc. : *the reason for beginning all his wars he took from this ;* take *initium et causam* as a hendiadys ; see Introd. II. § 10. *i.*

20. convenientius: *more incumbent on him;* combining loyalty to his uncle's memory with self-aggrandizement. **necem . . . acta**: chiasmus; see Introd. II. § 10. *h.* Augustus himself mentions the vengeance meted out to the assassins of Julius; cf. *M. A.* II. 1. 10–12: *Qui parentem meum interfecerunt, eos in exilium expuli iudiciis legitimis ultus eorum facinus, et postea bellum inferentis rei publicae vici bis dcie.* Caesar's enactments, appointments, etc. were confirmed by the senate in March *pacis causa*, according to Cicero (*Phil.* II. 39. 100), in spite of the conspirators' intention to rescind them. Antony alarmed the nobles, in particular, by claiming the same authority for mere *memoranda* (genuine or forged) of the Dictator as for the *acta* themselves.

21. confestim ut Apollonia rediit: *immediately upon his return from Apollonia;* but his purpose was cleverly concealed for several months. During his slow progress to Rome the young Octavius acted in such a way as to deceive Cicero regarding his real intentions; cf. Cic., *ad Att.* XV. 12. 2, *videbaturque erga nostros heroas ita fore, ut nos vellemus, animatus.*

22. et vi . . . et: practically equivalent to *primum . . . deinde.* **vi . . . legibus adgredi**: note the chiastic order and the zeugma with *adgredi*, *to attack by force of arms* and *to institute legal proceedings against.* See Introd. II. § 10. *h* and II. § 10. *c.* **quia provisum**, etc.: even their official position was of no avail against the frenzy of the Roman mobs. Though praetors, Brutus and Cassius immediately left Rome and, after halting at several places in Italy, finally took ship for Greece to enter upon their provincial appointments in Macedonia and Syria, respectively, long before the expiration of their terms of office at Rome. This occurred in 44 B.C. Several laws were passed, however, as seen from *M. A.* II. 1. 10: *eos* (*i.e.* the assassins) *in exilium expuli iudiciis legitimis.* Especial reference is here made to the *lex Pedia*, passed in August of 43 B.C., by which *omnibus qui Caesarem patrem interfecerant aqua ignique damnatis interdictum erat*, Velleius (II. 69. 5) says. But the *lex Cornelia de sicariis* and the *lex Iulia de vi publica* or *lex Iulia maiestatis* may also have been in the writer's mind.

23. reosque . . . deferre: *indict them in their absence on a charge of murder. Deferre*, without *nomen*, is post-Augustan. The idiom in Cicero is *deferre nomen alicuius de aliquo;* cf. Cic., *pro M. Cael.* 31. 76, *nomen amici mei de ambitu detulit.* See page 15, line 26, *delaturum se nomen eius.* Consult Introd. II. § 1. *c.*

24. Ludos . . . Caesaris: in honor of Caesar's victory at Munda on March 17, 45 B.C. These games were to have been given in connec-

tion with the dedication, on April 21, of the temple of Venus Genetrix which Caesar had vowed at Pharsalus in 48 B.C. Octavius's celebration occurred in May and lasted eleven days. At this time the comet typifying Caesar's apotheosis appeared on seven successive nights; cf. *Jul.* 88; Dio XLV. 7. 1.

25. **audentibus**: sc. *eis;* see Introd. II. § 9. *a.* (5). **quibus . . . munus**: *to whose lot this office had fallen;* probably, the college of priests, whose duties involved the exhibition of shows from year to year.

27. **locum . . . demortui**: the vacancy due to the death of Helvius Cinna when he was mistaken by the mob for the assassin, L. Cornelius Cinna, and literally torn to pieces. The story is told in *Jul.* 85. **candidatum se ostendit**: *announced himself as candidate.* Octavian had put forward a certain Flaminius for the office, but the people, in disregard of qualifications of age and rank, would have none other than the young Octavian. Through his consular power of *coercitio* Antony stopped the proceedings and the vacancy remained unfilled.

28. **quanquam patricius**: see note to page 49, line 23, and Introd. II. § 6. *m.* **necdum senator**: to disregard the *cursus honorum*, while not illegal, was at least irregular. Octavian had not held the quaestorship, which had qualified for the senate since Sulla's time, and only senators were eligible for the office of tribune. His age might have been a third objection. **adversante . . . Antonio**: Octavian was opposed by Antony in his claim for his patrimony, with regard to the *lex curiata* necessary for his adoption, respecting the exercises in honor of Julius and in his candidacy for the office of *tribunus suffectus*, as seen above.

29. **quem . . . speraverat**: sc. *futurum esse; in whom he had hoped most especially to find an ally;* see Introd. II. § 10. *d.* (1). *Vel* with *praecipuus* here and elsewhere in Suetonius has about the same force as when used with a superlative; see page 10, line 21, *vel praecipua opera;* page 62, line 24, *e quibus vel praecipua;* page 65, line 20, *vel praecipuam calumniandi materiam; Dom.* 19, *vel praecipuo studio;* and, with the adverb, *Ner.* 22. 1, *vel praecipue; Vit.* 13. 1, *Sed vel praecipue.*

30. **ne publicum . . . translativum ius**: *not even the common justice which belonged to all alike.* Whether the more usual *tralaticium* or the *translativum* of the Mss. be read here, the meaning is unmistakable. For a time, at least, Antony thwarted Octavian's adoption into a patrician house and his aspirations to the tribunate. See Introd. II, § 1. *c* on the technical phrase here used.

31. **sine pactione . . . mercedis**: *without agreeing to the heaviest blackmail.*

32. ad optimates se contulit: *he went over to the aristocrats.* Ignorant of the real intentions of the young Octavian for some months after his return from Apollonia, the Optimates failed to see that he was to use their party as a tool against Antony in his efforts to gain an equal standing with him and then to turn against the aristocrats themselves. In their hatred of Antony, however, they considered it of the utmost importance to their party to detach Octavian from Antony's faction as likely to become a dangerous factor in the situation. Thus Cicero says of Octavian (*ad Att.* XV. 12. 2): *Sed tamen alendus est et, ut nihil aliud, ab Antonio seiungendus.* Octavian himself asserts his purpose in raising the troops towards the end of the year 43 B.C.; cf. *M. A.* I. 1. 2, *per quem* (i.e. *exercitum*) *rem publicam dominatione factionis* (i.e. *Optimatum*) *oppressam in libertatem vindicavi.* **eum**: *i.e.* Antony.

Page 51. **1. D. Brutum**: *consul designatus* for 43 B.C. in Caesar's arrangements contemplating the Parthian campaign. Cisalpine Gaul was to be his province after March, 42 B.C. This appointment had been confirmed, along with those of the other conspirators, by the senate on March 17, 44 B.C.; cf. Cic., *Phil.* II. 39. 100. But in June Antony had secured its transfer to himself. Decimus was not the man, however, to comply with Antony's notification in November to withdraw from the disputed province. Cf. Liv., *Epit.* CXVII.

2. Mutinae: modern Modena, situated in a fertile plain about half way between Bologna and Parma on the Milan-Bologna line. Originally a town of the Gallic Boii, it became a Roman colony in 183 B.C. Here Brutus was besieged by Antony from December of 44 B.C. to April of 43 B.C. Near its walls the consuls Hirtius and Pansa lost their lives. See note to line 10, below. **provincia . . . data**: it is a notable fact that five of the assassins rested their claims to provincial appointments upon the enactments of the very man whom they had murdered and whose acts they would have annulled; cf. *Jul.* 82. 4 and see Shuckburgh, *Augustus*, page 19, with note 2.

3. itaque: postpositive, also, in line 30 of page 59 and often after the Augustan period. It has its usual pre-Augustan initial position on page 32, line 31, and page 37, line 16. See Introd. II. § 6. *g*.

4. percussores ei subornavit: such stories of plots against Antony's life were widely circulated, but pretty generally discredited because of no apparent motive on the part of Octavian. Success in this direction would mean the transfer of the Optimates' hatred from Antony, once out of

their way, to Octavian. Nicolas of Damascus (*Vit. Aug.* 30), probably giving Octavian's own version, says that the plot and the report accusatory of Octavian were both the invention of Antony himself. See Merivale, *Hist. of Rom.*, III.[4] 89.

5. **periculum . . . metuens**: Velleius says (II. 60. 5): *C. Caesar iuvenis cotidianis Antonii petebatur insidiis.* **veteranos**: sc. *paternos; cf.* Vell. II. 61. 2, *primumque a Calatia, mox a Casilino veteranos excivit paternos.* The levies were made in the early part of October, 44 B.C., at these small towns in the vicinity of Capua. He was later joined by the *legio Martia* and *legio quarta.*

6. **quanta potuit largitione**: *by means of as large a bounty as he could command.* Octavian's donative of 500 denarii, about $80.00, per man was unprecedented in amount as well as in the fact that it was at his own expense; cf. Cic., *ad Att.* XVI. 8. 1; *M. A.* I. 1. 1, *exercitum privato consilio et privata impensa comparavi.* **iussusque . . . praeesse**: *and with orders to hold command, with the rank of propraetor, of the army he had procured.* By vote of the senate on January first, 43 B.C., Octavian was accorded senatorial rank among the *praetorii* and invested with the *imperium.* A second decree gave him the *ornamenta consularia.* He himself states (*M. A.* I. 1. 3 ff.): *Ob quae senatus decretis honorificis in ordinem suum me adlegit C. Pansa A. Hirtio consulibus, consularem locum simul dans sententiae ferendae, et imperium mihi dedit.* The nominative forms of titles of pro-magistrates, *proconsul, propraetor*, etc., are found only occasionally. Here the form *pro praetore* indicates that Octavian was exercising the authority of a praetor without ever having held the office.

8. **susceperant**: *had entered upon;* January first, 43 B.C. **D. Bruto**: shut up in Mutina since the close of 44 B.C. The battles mentioned below were fought in April, 43 B.C.

9. **demandatum**: *entrusted;* said to occur more often in Suetonius than in any other writer: cf. page 38, line 17, *demandavit;* page 43, line 2, *demandaverat;* etc. **tertio mense**: not to be taken too literally; Octavian left Rome late in December and the decisive battles were fought in April.

10. **duobus proeliis**: the first occurred on April 15, 43 B.C., at Forum Gallorum, about eight miles from the beleaguered city on the Via Aemilia. There is probably no good reason for doubting Dio's statement (XLVI. 38. 1) that Octavian was not personally engaged in this battle. Antony's slanderous story of his ignominious flight seems as groundless as the baser calumny of persistent report that Glycon, the

surgeon, was bribed to inject poison into Pansa's wound received at that time; cf. Tac., *Ann.* I. 10. 1. The second decisive engagement was that of April 27 before Antony's camp under the walls of Mutina. The forces of Hirtius and Pansa were again victorious, but Hirtius fell while fighting near the *praetorium* of the enemy's camp. Pansa died of his wounds at about the same time. **Priore . . . sequenti**: note the adversative asyndeton. See Introd. II. § 10. *f.* (4). **Antonius . . . scribit**: possibly in letters despatched to Rome from the scene of the conflict.

11. paludamento: the red military cloak assumed by the *imperator* before going out to take command of the army and, together with the axes in the fasces, a sign of full military *imperium*. It was highly prized as a trophy, so that Julius Caesar swam for his life at Alexandria *paludamentum mordicus trahens ne spolio poteretur hostis;* see note to page 32, line 12. It was regularly worn by the emperors on state occasions; cf. *Claud.* 21. 6, *praeseditque paludatus.* It was laid aside, on entering the city, by those careful in the observance of constitutional forms. **demum apparuisse**: *finally put in an appearance.*

14. umeris subisse: cf. Verg., *Aen.* II. 708, where Aeneas thus addresses Anchises: *Ipse subibo umeris nec me labor iste gravabit.*

Chapter 11. Deaths of Hirtius and Pansa

16. Hirtius . . . Pansa: see note to line 10, above.

17. perissent: note that the verb is in the plural number in spite of the asyndetic division of the subjects. **opera eius**: *through his agency,* or *on his responsibility;* cf. Tac., *Ann.* I. 10. 1: *mox ubi decreto patrum fasces et ius praetoris invaserit, caesis Hirtio et Pansa, sive hostis illos, seu Pansam venenum vulneri adfusum, sui milites Hirtium et machinator doli Caesar abstulerat, utriusque copias occupavisse.* See note to line 10, above.

19. victores: noun for adjective; cf. page 46, line 7, *victor redit;* Ov., *Tr.* IV. 2. 47, *Hos super in curru, Caesar, victore veheris.* See Introd. II. § 2. *d.* **occuparet**: *might gain control of.* In fact, the *legio Martia* and *legio quarta,* at least, refused to obey the senate's orders to join Decimus in pursuit of Antony and remained with Octavian. Cf. Cic., *Phil.* IV. 2. 6: *Huius Martiae legionis legio quarta imitata virtutem, duce L. Egnatuleio, quem senatus merito paullo ante laudavit, C. Caesaris exercitum persecuta est.*

20. Glyco: M. Brutus writes to Cicero (*ad Brut.* I. 6. 2): *Tibi*

Glycona, medicum Pansae, qui sororem Achilleos nostri in matrimonio habet, diligentissime commendo. Audimus eum venisse in suspicionem Torquato de morte Pansae custodirique ut parricidam. Nihil minus credendum est; quis enim maiorem calamitatem morte Pansae accepit? Praeterea est modestus homo et frugi, quem ne utilitas quidem videatur impulsura fuisse ad facinus. Rogo te, et quidem valde rogo . . . eripias eum ex custodia conservesque. **custoditus sit**: by Pansa's quaestor. He was released through the efforts of Cicero at the instigation of M. Brutus; see preceding note. The tense of the verb does not here represent the momentary act: Glyco 'was kept under guard' as the result of suspicion until finally set free in the manner noted above. See Introd. II. § 7. *e.* (1). **quasi . . . indidisset**: *on the charge of having applied poison to his wound.* For this use of *quasi* see Introd. II. § 8. *i.* Cf. Furneaux, *Annals of Tacitus*, Vol. I, Introd. V. § 67.

21. Adicit his: sc. *calumniis.* See Introd. II. § 10. *f.* (3). **Aquilius Niger**: not otherwise known. Teuffel-Schwabe (*Hist. of Rom. Lit.*, Engl. Tr., § 255. 5) assigns Niger, Julius Saturninus (*Aug.* 27.2) and C. Drusus (*Aug.* 94. 6) to the Augustan or Tiberian period. His base slander may have originated in the fact that Hirtius was fighting near Octavian when he fell. But if Appian (*B. C.* III. 71. 294) is to be trusted, Octavian rushed to his side and bore him off the field. Dio (XLVI. 39. 1) also rejects such a report as without foundation in fact.

Chapter 12. Deserts the Cause of the Optimates

24. Antonium . . . receptum: following the second engagement before Mutina, Antony hastened westward with his splendid cavalry forces towards Gallia Narbonensis. This province, together with Hispania Citerior, Caesar had allotted to M. Aemilius Lepidus, his *magister equitum* at the time of his assassination. The letters and despatches of this vacillating politician, while at first professing hostility towards Antony and loyalty to the Optimates, soon came to be characterized by Cicero (*ad Fam.* X. 16. 1) as *frigidas sane et inconstantes.* Under pretense of coercion by his soldiers, Lepidus finally joined Antony at Forum Julii, modern Fréjus, on the coast of Gallia Narbonensis, before the expiration of May, 43 B.C., and he and all his soldiers were declared *hostes* by the senate.

25. ceterosque duces: particularly, L. Munatius Plancus, governor of Gallia Transalpina, and C. Asinius Pollio, governor of Hispania Baetica. Decimus Brutus had succeeded in joining forces with Plancus in

July, but Pollio soon afterwards induced Plancus to abandon Brutus and unite with Antony. P. Ventidius Bassus, a trusted officer of Antony, had hastened north with newly levied troops, but had to be content to join Antony on his retreat from Mutina in May. Lepidus had four legions; Plancus, three; Pollio and Bassus, two each. See Merivale, *Hist. of Rom.*, III.[4] 93, 122 ff. Cf. App., *B. C.* III. 66. 269 ff. **consentire pro partibus**: *were reaching an agreement in the interests of the party* (*i.e.* of the opposition); cf. Tac., *Hist.* II. 87, *Dum haec . . . a Vespasiano ducibusque partium geruntur*, where by *partium* the opposing party is meant. But these leaders had hardly been republicans at heart.

26. ad praetextum, etc.: *by way of pretext for his change of allegiance;* see Introd. II. § 5. *b.* (6) for this use of *ad. Praetextum* as a noun in this sense is post-Augustan; cf. page 15, line 18, *Et praetextum*, etc.; Tac., *Hist.* II. 100, *ipse Ravennam devertit praetexto classem adloquendi.*

28. calumniatus: *alleging;* but with the connotation of pretense or misrepresentation: cf. page 65, line 20, *calumniandi materiam*, where it has the meaning, 'bring false charges', 'resort to blackmail'. **quasi alii**, etc.: *on the ground that some had pronounced him a mere boy, while others had proposed that he should be extolled and put out of the way.* For the *quasi*-clause see Introd. II. § 8. *i.* Cicero, apparently, often spoke of the young Octavian as *puer* or *adolescens* in compliment; *e.g. Phil.* IV. 1. 3, *clarissimi adolescentis vel pueri potius.* Yet the epithet was so often applied to Octavian in a contemptuous sense, Servius (*ad Verg. Ecl.* I. 42) states, that the senate decreed that no one should speak of him as *puer* in the future. What Octavian particularly had in mind was doubtless the familiar saying of Cicero (*ad Fam.* XI. 20. 1), *laudandum adolescentem, ornandum, tollendum*, where, as Velleius (II. 62. 6) points out, the word *tollendum* was intentionally used in a double sense, since *tollere* may mean 'make way with, destroy' as well as 'exalt, honor'. Some hold, however, that *tollere* could not have the meaning, 'raise to honor', without some additional word, as in Hor., *Od.* I. 1. 8, *Certat tergeminis tollere honoribus;* see Tyrrell and Purser, *Corresp. of Cicero*, VI, Introd., page liv, note. The lampoon directed at Nero may be compared in this connection (*Ner.* 39. 2):

Quis negat Aeneae magna de stirpe Neronem?
Sustulit hic matrem, sustulit ille patrem.

29. par gratia: *due acknowledgment.*

30. quo magis, etc. : *the better to establish his regret at his former party affiliations;* where *sectae* is used in a political sense. For the case of *sectae* see Introd. II. § 4. *d.*

31. Nursinos : *the people of Nursia*, modern Norcia, a fortified town in the Sabine foot-hills of the Apennines, the Monti Sibillini of to-day. Dio states (XLVIII. 13. 6) that the Nursians had closed their gates against Octavian in the Perusian War and were later punished by so excessive a fine because of the inscription placed over their dead that they abandoned their city and entire country. **grandi pecunia et quam** : see note to page 47, line 5.

32. multatos . . . egit : *fined and banished from the city; oppido* depends on *extorres:* cf. Liv. XXXII. 13. 14, *Hoc sedibus suis extorre agmen.* Note the prolepsis : Introd. II. § 10. *m.* **Mutinensi acie** : *in the fight at Mutina;* cf. page 15, line 31, *Pharsalica acie;* page 32, line 7, *Post aciem Pharsalicam.*

Page 52. **1. civium** : *i.e.* of Nursia. **tumulo** : the dative thus follows *ascribere* in *Ner.* 45. 2 and *Galb.* 2. On page 87, line 16, we read : *ad statuam eius ascriptum est.* See Introd. II. § 4. *j.*

2. pro libertate, etc. : *they laid down their lives in freedom's cause.*

Chapter 13. The Triumvirate and Philippi. Treatment of Captives. Division of Authority

3. Inita . . . societate : an alliance known as the Second Triumvirate, but unlike the league between Caesar, Crassus and Pompey in that the latter was merely a private agreement, while Octavian, Antony and Lepidus were appointed *tresviri rei publicae constituendae* (cf. page 60, line 30) for a term of five years by a law of the tribune P. Titius in 43 B.C. ; cf. App., *B.C.* IV. 7. 27 ; Dio, XLVI. 49. 1, XLVII. 2. 1. In its origin it was a political necessity, forced upon Octavian and made possible through the mediation of the negative Lepidus. The place of this notable meeting at the end of October, 43 B.C., has been identified as Crocetta del Treblo on an island in the Reno (*Rhenus*) about two miles west of Bologna (*Bononia*). Appian (*B.C.* IV. 2. 4) and Dio (XLVI. 55. 1) speak of it as an island in the *Lavinius*, a confluent of the *Rhenus.* Three days were required for the settlement of affairs pertaining to the first term of their extraordinary magistracy ; cf. Plut., *Cic.* XLVI.

4. quamquam invalidus : see note to page 49, line 23. **invalidus** : on the ill health of Octavian in general see note to page 49, line 25. The

present attack came on him at Dyrrhachium, modern Durazzo, but did not deter him from hastening on with his troops towards Philippi in Macedonia. Only through his lucky removal from his camp the night before the first engagement was he saved from capture or death in the storming of the camp by Brutus after the fight. Warning of his danger in a dream is narrated by Appian (*B.C.* IV. 110. 463), whereas Dio (XLVII. 41. 3 *f.*) states that his physician had been warned in a similar way to lead him into line of battle in spite of his ill health. **duplici proelio**: as at Mutina; see note to page 51, line 10. The two engagements were fought between Amphipolis and Philippi in the autumn of 42 B.C., twenty days apart. In both battles Octavian commanded the left wing; Antony the right, nearest the sea. Brutus was victorious over the forces of Octavian in the first encounter, but the troops of Cassius fled before Antony and the suicide or assassination of Cassius followed. The last hopes of the republic perished with the defeat of Brutus in the second encounter and his subsequent suicide. Cf. Dio XLVII. 42-49.

5. **castris exutus**: *despoiled of his camp, driven from his camp*; cf. page 31, line 23, *quin castris quoque exueret.*

6. **Nec . . . moderatus est**: *was not temperate in the use he made of the happy issue in victory;* for the case of *victoriae* see Introd. II. § 4. *f.* Different is his own account in *M. A.* III. 1. 13 *f.*: *Bella terra et mari civilia externaque toto in orbe terrarum suscepi victorque omnibus superstitibus civibus peperci.* Indeed, there was slight reason for ill treatment by the triumvirs since most of the soldiers of Brutus and Cassius, according to Dio (XLVII. 49. 3), were ready to come to terms with the conquerors after Philippi. Among the few executions mentioned were those of Q. Hortensius, son of the orator, and Favonius.

7. **moderatus est**: *moderari* in the meaning of this passage regularly takes the dative case in classical Latin. The accusative is found again in *Claud.* 14; *Dom.* 7. 1; Tac., *Ann.* II. 75. 3, *neque ipse gaudium moderans.* **capite Bruti**, etc.: according to Dio (XLVIII. 1. 1), both Brutus and Cassius died by the swords with which they had killed Caesar. He adds (XLVII. 49. 2) that the body of Brutus was buried, while the head was lost at sea in a storm off Dyrrhachium. Plutarch (*Ant.* XXII) and Appian (*B. C.* IV. 135. 568) state that Antony had the body of Brutus shrouded in finest purple before it was cremated. Appian adds that Antony sent the ashes to Servilia, the mother of Brutus.

9. **non sine verborum contumelia**: *accompanied by insulting language.* The litotes, *non sine*, is very frequent in Suetonius; see Introd. II. § 10. *k.* **uni**: where the more usual *cuidam* is debarred by *quidem.*

10. sepulturam : *the rite of burial*, so hallowed in the eyes of the Roman and so necessary to his future happiness. Ulpian (*Dig*. XLVIII. 24. 1) quotes Augustus as saying in his *Memoirs* that it was his practice to allow the bodies of those executed to be buried by their relatives. **iam istam**, etc. : *that would now be the prerogative of the birds;* with *istam* (sc. *sepulturam*) as subject of *fore*. Cf. Ter., *Heaut*. 720, *quasi non ea potestas sit tua*.

11. alios : probably the Aquilii Flori, of whom Dio (LI. 2. 5) tells the same story, but dates the incident after Actium.

12. sortiri vel micare: *to draw lots or play mora, as they chose*. Mora is a game still common in Italy, in which the players thrust out their fingers (*micare digitis*), the winner being the player who guesses correctly the number of fingers thrust out by his opponent. From the unusual opportunity for cheating at the game arose the proverb for the thoroughly honest man as one *cum quo audacter posses in tenebris micare* (cf. Petron., *Sat*. 44) ; or *dignum esse dicunt quicum in tenebris mices* (cf. Cic., *de Off*. III. 19. 77). Nonius's definition (347. 27, M.) of the word is interesting in this connection : *Micare est sortiri digitis ;* cf. Cic., *de Off*. III. 23.90 : *Nullum erit certamen, sed quasi sorte aut micando victus alteri cedet alter*. For a photograph illustrating the game of mora as played on the island of Sardinia to-day see *The National Geographic Magazine*, XXX. 2. 119.

13. ut alterutri concederetur : *in order to decide which should be allowed to live ;* lit. 'in order that it (*i.e. vita*) might be allowed to one of the two'.

14. quia se optulerat: sc. *morti* or *ad mortem; because he had offered to die*, to save his son.

15. voluntariam . . . necem : *had taken his own life*. *Mortem* is more common than *necem* in this use of the verb. *Occumbere* is also used absolutely ; cf. line 2, above, *occubuisse*.

16. ille Catonis aemulus : *the well known rival of Cato ;* cf. Plut., *Caes*. XXI, ζηλωτὴς Κάτωνος. Mommsen styles him 'Cato's Sancho' : see his *Hist. of Rome* (Engl. Trans.), V. 134. Like Cato (Uticensis), Favonius was an uncompromising oligarch, bitterly hostile to both Caesar and Pompey, yet espousing the cause of the latter in the Civil War. His efforts, like Cato's, were of a negative kind. An inglorious death after Philippi at Octavian's hands succeeded a life of political failure. Cf. Dio XLVII. 49. 4 ; Cic., *ad Q. Fr*. II. 3. 2, *ad Att*. VII. 15. 2.

17. imperatore . . . salutato: *whereas they greeted Antony respectfully as 'imperator'*, the title applied to a conquering general by

his soldiers. **foedissimo . . . prosciderunt**: *reviled to his face with the foulest abuse.* Favonius was quite capable of such vituperation, according to Plutarch (*Pomp.* LX) when he speaks of 'a certain Favonius, a man not otherwise evil, but often deeming that he was imitating Cato's frank, outspoken manner by his insolent presumption'.

18. prosciderunt: in this transferred sense, poetic and post-Augustan; cf. Ov., *Pont.* IV. 16. 47, *Ergo summotum patria proscindere, Livor, desine;* Plin., *N. H.* XXXVI. 6. 48, *Catulli Veronensis carminibus proscissus;* Suet., *Vit. Luc.*, *Sed et famoso carmine cum ipsum tum potentissimos amicorum gravissime proscidit.* We may compare our corresponding English expression, 'tear to shreds', 'tear to tatters'.

19. Partitis . . . officiis: *in the distribution of their duties of administration.* In this second division, after Philippi, Spain and Numidia fell to Octavian's lot, Gaul and Africa to Antony's. In the event that this met with the displeasure of Lepidus, now at Rome and under suspicion of intrigue with Sextus Pompeius, Antony was to relinquish Africa to him. Sicily and Sardinia were still practically occupied by Pompey. Cisalpine Gaul now became part of Italy proper. By this agreement Lepidus was practically ignored. Cf. Dio XLVIII. 1. 2–2. 4. **Orientem ordinandum**: *to set the East in order;* a far different task from that assigned Octavian, who was to restrict the power of Lepidus in case of a hostile move, to conduct the war against Sextus and to assign lands to the veteran campaigners: see Dio XLVIII. 2. 2 f.

21. municipalibus agris collocandos: *to settle them on lands of the municipalities.* There were eighteen of these municipal towns; cf. App., *B. C.* IV. 3. 10. For the use of *agris* without *in* see Introd. II. § 4. *r*.

22. veteranorum: especially those who had served with Antony and who had been tampered with by L. Antonius and Fulvia; cf. App., *B. C.* V. 14. 54. **possessorum**: those landowners, in particular, in friendly cities who had not received the expected compensation for their confiscated estates. The remittances from the East promised by Antony would have relieved the situation to some extent, but failed to appear at the expected time. Among the victims of this confiscation was the poet Vergil; cf. Verg., *Ecl.* I. Octavian's dilemma at this time is described by Dio (XLVIII. 6 ff.) and Appian (*B. C.* V. 12. 48–17. 71). **alteris pelli se, alteris . . . tractari**: arranged chiastically with reference to *veteranorum* and *possessorum.*

23. pro spe meritorum: *as their services had led them to expect.*

Chapter 14. War with Lucius Antonius. Personal Dangers Incurred

25. **Quo tempore**: 41 B.C., in the consulship of Lucius Antonius and P. Servilius Isauricus (II). **L. Antonium**: brother of the triumvir. His life was spared after Perusia and he was later appointed to a command in Iberia. Another brother, Gaius, praetor in Macedonia in 44 B.C., had met his death at the hands of M. Brutus in 42 B.C.

26. **fraternae**: =*fratris;* see Introd. II. § 3. *c.* **potentiae**: political power, especially with the veterans, who were the real masters of the situation and through whose offices a settlement was ineffectually undertaken. Cf. Dio XLVIII. 10. 2 ff. Cicero (*Phil.* II. 11. 26) thus contrasts *potentia* with *dominatus: Quid? C. Cassius, in ea familia natus, quae non modo dominatum, sed ne potentiam quidem cuiusquam ferre potuit, me auctorem, credo, desideravit.* **res novas**: an abortive rebellion which originated in a woman's jealous passions and a man's selfish ambitions. Fulvia, wife of Mark Antony, *nihil muliebre praeter corpus gerens* (Vell. II. 74. 3), was intent upon winning back her husband's roving affections from the wiles of Cleopatra, whatever the cost. Lucius Antonius, while posing as the protector of his brother's rights and assuming the surname of *Pietas* in token of his devotion, was in reality influenced by selfish aims to take advantage of the increasing discontent caused by the confiscations and allotments of land. Before the end of his year of office he had joined Fulvia at Praeneste in open revolt. Cf. Dio XLVIII. 5. 4, 10. 1 ff. **confugere Perusiam coegit**: at the beginning of the war Antony had gained some slight successes during Octavian's absence from Rome. But Octavian and Agrippa shrewdly outgeneraled the Antonian forces and prevented their union. Checked in his progress towards the north, Antonius withdrew to the strongly fortified Perusia, modern Perugia, situated on a group of hills rising upwards of a thousand feet above the valley of the Tiber in the modern province of Umbria. Cf. Dio XLVIII. 13. 1 ff., 14. 1.

27. **ad deditionem**, etc.: the siege lasted from the close of 41 B. C. to March, 40 B. C. Despite Dio's statement that the town had ample provisions at the start, the famine became so intensely severe as to make it memorable in Roman history. Authorities agree in attributing the capitulation to the stringency of the famine; see App., *B. C.* V. 34. 135 ff.; Flor. II. 16. 5; Dio XLVIII. 14. 2 f. Compare Lucan I. 41 ff.:

His, Caesar, Perusina fames Mutinaeque labores
Accedant fatis et quas premit aspera classes
Leucas et ardenti servilia bella sub Aetna.

28. suis . . . discriminibus: *personal risks, dangers to himself.*

30. quattuordecim ordinibus: see page 20, line 5, where *ordinibus* is omitted, and note; also page 69, line 10, *e quattuordecim:* see Introd. II. § 3. *b*. **excitari**: *be removed* from the theater, not simply from his seat; cf. Quint., *Inst.* III. 6. 19, *si excitatus fuerit de spectaculis et aget iniuriarum.* Appian (*B.C.* V. 15. 62 f.) also relates the occurrence.

31. per apparitorem: *by an attendant.* These *apparitores* attended upon the magistrates at Rome, received their pay from the public treasury and had places assigned them in the theater and the circus; cf. Tac., *Ann.* XVI. 12. 2 and see Momms., *Röm. Staatsr.* I.[3] 332 ff. **rumore . . . quasi**, etc.: see note to page 48, line 23, and Introd. II. § 6. *n*.

32. mox et: *later also;* see Introd. II. § 6. *d* and II. § 6. *i*. **discruciatum necasset**: *had caused the man to be slain after being subjected to torture.* *Discrucior* is more often used of mental distress; cf. Ter., *Ad.* 610, *Discrucior animi;* Plaut., *Aul.* 105, *Discrucior animi quia ab domo abeundumst mihi.* With our passage compare Cic., *Phil.* XIII. 18. 37: *ita sibi convenisse . . . ut ille . . . discruciatos necaret.* **minimum . . . periret**: *all but lost his life;* cf. *Tib.* 19, *non multum afuit quin . . . occideretur; Cal.* 34. 2, *paulum afuit quin . . . amoveret.*

Page 53. 2. militaris: = *militum;* see Introd. II. § 3. *c*. **Saluti fuit**, etc.: *it was well for his safety that the missing man suddenly put in an appearance, safe and sound.* Observe the inconcinnity of *incolumis* and *sine iniuria;* see Introd. II. § 10. *a*. When the soldier denied that he had been harshly treated, his comrades in arms reproached him with want of fealty to their common cause; cf. App., *B.C.* V. 15. 63.

Chapter 15. Punishments after Perusia

6. in plurimos animadvertit: among the personal enemies of Octavian who suffered at this time Appian mentions Tiberius Canutius, Gaius Flavius and Clodius Bithynicus. The cruelty charged against Octavian seems to have been confined, however, to the senatorial class, while the populace of the town was, in general, pardoned; cf. App., *B.C.* V. 48. 203, 49. 207. Yet Dio (XLVIII. 14. 5) states that most of those taken in the place lost their lives and that the city was almost entirely destroyed by

fire. Possibly, both statements are correct in so far as Octavian may have pardoned the Perusians and still the soldiers, deprived of their booty, may, themselves, have turned against the inhabitants; cf. Vell. II. 74. 4, *in Perusinos magis ira militum quam voluntate saevitum ducis*. The town itself was burned through the act of a certain Cestius Macedonicus, who set fire to his own house and perished in the flames; see App., *B. C.* V. 49. 204. Lucius Antonius was pardoned, while Fulvia was allowed to escape with Plancus from Italy. Tiberius Claudius Nero, leading the uprising in Campania, escaped to Sextus Pompeius in Sicily, accompanied by his wife, Livia, the future wife of Augustus, and by his infant son, the future emperor, Tiberius. See Vell. II. 75. 3, 76. 2; Dio XLVIII. 15. 3; *Tib.* 6. 1.

7. **una voce**, etc.: *meeting them with the one reply, 'You must die'*; cf. Quint., *Inst.* I. 5. 36, *ut si dicenti, Quem video? ita occurras, Ego*.

8. **Scribunt quidam**: Dio (XLVIII. 14. 4) is as cautious in his narration of this incident as is Suetonius, giving it as a mere report; cf. App., *B.C.* V. 49. 207. Seneca (*de Clem.* I. 11. 1) speaks with assurance of the *Perusinas aras* among the forms of cruelty attributed to Octavian. Lack of further proof makes the story a very doubtful one. **trecentos**: a number suspicious in itself, as Merivale suggests, since it was likewise given for the alleged massacre by Caesar after Thapsus, by Antony at Brundisium and by the triumvirs in the proscriptions. It is just possible that it is simply used of an indefinite large number. See Merivale, *Hist. of Rom.*, III.[4] 180. *n*. 2.

9. **utriusque ordinis**: both senatorial and equestrian; cf. Dio's mention (XLVIII. 14. 4) of 'three hundred knights and senators, including others besides Tiberius Canutius'. **aram . . . extructam**: near the column mentioned on page 44, line 21; see note on this passage.

10. **Idibus Martiis**: cf. *Jul.* 81. 2-4. **hostiarum more**: *like so many victims; i.e.* with an ax instead of a sword: cf. Flor. I. 21. 5, *Legatos quippe nostros . . . ne gladio quidem sed ut victimas securi percutiunt*. **mactatos**: a word belonging to the ritual of sacrifice; cf. Lucr. VI. 759, *Manibus ut si sint divis mactata repente*. It is most unlikely that the early custom of human sacrifice, of which recorded instances are rare, should have been thus revived to appease the *di Manes* of the deified Julius.

11. **conpecto**: *by agreement, of set purpose;* cf. Cic., *pro Scaur.* 5. 8: *Itaque compecto cum matre Bostaris consilium cepit*. See Introd. II. § 9. *a*. (4). **eum ad arma isse**: *he took up arms*, in the war of Perusia.

12. **quos metus**, etc.: *whom fear rather than good will held in restraint* from open opposition to him. Compare Caligula's often quoted

saying from the *Atreus* of Accius (*Cal.* 30. 1): *oderint dum metuant*, and the variation by Tiberius (*Tib.* 59. 2): *oderint dum probent.*

13. facultate . . . praebita: *when the opportunity to follow a leader was presented them in Lucius Antonius;* cf. Cic., *ad Fam.* X. 4.3, *si facultas optabilis mihi quidem tui praesentis esset*, where the meaning is, 'if I could but have the desired opportunity of meeting you face to face'. For the case of *Antoni* see Introd. II. § 4. *d.*

14. confiscatis: *their estates confiscated;* used of persons here and in *Tib.* 49.2 and *Cal.* 41. 2. One whose goods were offered for sale was said *pendere venalis;* cf. *Claud.* 9. 2, *venalis pependerit; Dom.* 9. 2, *Reos qui . . . apud aerarium pependissent.* Similarly, *publicare* is applied to persons in *Claud.* 25. 1, *Libertinos . . . publicavit:* **promissa veteranis**, etc.: see *Aug.* 13. 3 and note to page 52, line 22.

Chapter 16. Wars with Sextus Pompeius. Leadership Impugned. Risks Incurred. Lepidus Banished

16. Siculum bellum: so called because Sextus Pompeius, after collecting a formidable fleet, seized upon Sicily as his headquarters. Sicily then became the center of hostilities during the warfare waged against him. See App., *B.C.* IV. 84. 352 ff.; Dio. XLVIII. 17. 1–20. 4; Liv., *Epit.* CXXIII. **in primis**: sc. *bellis*. Before Octavian set out for Greece in 42 B. C., there was a conflict in the straits of Messana between his fleet under the command of Salvidienus Rufus and that of Sextus Pompeius, in which the forces of the latter were virtually victorious, although an equal number of ships was lost on each side. Octavian hastened from Rhegium to join Antony at Brundisium. Cf. App., *B.C.* IV. 85. 358–86. 362. **diu traxit**: prolonged, with frequent interruptions (*intermissum saepius*), until Sextus was finally conquered by Agrippa in 36 B. C. and fled to Asia, where he was murdered.

17. modo . . . modo: *now . . . and again;* the chronological order of events is here reversed.

18. tempestatibus duplici naufragio: note the use in a single clause of the two ablatives, of cause and manner; cf. *Tib.* 40, where three ablatives occur in one clause, *qua . . . gladiatorio munere amphitheatri ruina perierant.* **duplici naufragio**: in 38 B.C. Calvisius Sabinus and Menodorus (or Menas), who had deserted from Sextus, commanding Octavian's fleet on the west coast of Italy, engaged the naval forces of Sextus near Cumae. Menecrates, admiral of Sextus, was slain, but Calvisius was routed, with loss of ships, by Demochares. Mean-

while Octavian, sailing with a second squadron from Tarentum, had reached Rhegium and awaited Calvisius. On hearing of the latter's defeat, he attempted to reach him, but was attacked and put to flight, with serious damage to his ships. The first shipwreck succeeded the defeat of Calvisius, while he was entering the straits of Messana. The second occurred on the day after Octavian's discomfiture. In the latter the united squadrons of Calvisius and Octavian suffered severe losses. Appian (*B. C.* V. 92. 384) places Octavian's losses at more than half his fleet; cf. Dio XLVIII. 45.4–48.6. A third disaster by shipwreck befell Octavian's fleet off the promontory of Palinurus in 36 B.C., according to Dio (XLIX. 1. 3). **et quidem** : = *καὶ ταῦτα*, *and that, too;* cf. page 19, line 30; page 78, line 13; page 82, line 5. **per aestatem** : Appian (*B. C.* V. 89. 371) attributes the seriousness of the calamity in part to the mistaken notion of the sailors, who thought the storm would soon subside 'because it was the time of Spring'. The sailing season would normally extend from the vernal to the autumnal equinox. With the phrase here used compare page 55, line 30, *Per idem tempus; Galb.* 10. 4, *Per idem fere tempus.* The meaning here is *in the Summer.*

19. pace facta : *by making peace*, 39 B.C., by the treaty of Misenum. Sextus was cutting off the market supplies of Rome and the populace was in a state of insurrection. Negotiations were begun through Libo, father-in-law of Sextus and Octavian (who had married Scribonia the preceding year), and the intercession of Mucia, mother of Sextus. Octavian and Antony met Sextus at Misenum and, after failing to come to terms at the first conference, reached an agreement at a second meeting, according to which Sicily, Sardinia and Corsica, with Achaia added, were to be under the control of Sextus. Banquets and betrothals followed and joy was unconfined. But Octavian and Sextus soon felt obliged to renew the war on more or less substantial pretexts. It was in the first campaign after the renewal of hostilities, 38 B.C., that Octavian met with the disasters referred to in *duplici naufragio.* The following year, 37 B.C., was spent in building a new fleet. Another year witnessed the culmination of the war. See App., *B. C.* V. 63. 270–74. 317; Dio XLVIII. 36. 1–38. 3.

20. interclusos . . . ingravescentem : chiastic order; see Introd. II. § 10. *h.*

21. navibus . . . fabricatis : to replace the fleet almost entirely lost in 38 B.C. Agrippa, Octavian's able general, was recalled from his successful campaign against the revolted Gauls in Aquitania to supervise the construction of an arsenal and the building of a fleet. Ultimately

he succeeded Calvisius in command of the navy. See App., *B. C.* V. 96. 400; Dio XLVIII. 49. 2 *f.* **servorum . . . manumissis**: they were set free by legal authority to do military service, as was the case with the slaves enrolled after Cannae; cf. Liv. XXII. 57. 11. They were not, therefore, fugitive slaves, as were those who flocked to Sextus at the promise of their freedom. Horace (*Epod.* IX. 10) speaks of Sextus as *servis amicus perfidis* and Lucan (I. 43) designates the war as *servilia bella sub Aetna.*

22. ad remum datis: see Introd. II. § 5. *b.* (8). **portum Iulium**: though possessed of harbors at Ravenna and Brundisium on the Adriatic, Rome lacked natural harbor facilities on the Tuscan sea. Agrippa saw that it was possible to construct a harbor out of the two small lakes lying between Puteoli and Misenum. His work apparently consisted in strengthening with masonry the sand bar between the Lucrine lake and the outer bay, dredging a channel through this lake and cutting a canal between it and Lake Avernus. The name *portus Iulius* was in honor of his patron's house. The harbor soon fell into disuse, especially after Octavian had established a naval station at the mouth of the Tiber. To-day few traces of the entrance to the harbor are discernible beneath the waters of the bay of Pozzuoli; while Lake Avernus is simply a reedy marsh. See Frandsen, *Life of Agrippa*, 140 ff. and compare Dio XLVIII. 49. 4–51. 5.

23. Baias: see note to page 83, line 2.

24. hieme tota: expresses duration of time; see Introd. II. § 4. *q.*

25. Mylas et Naulochum: Naulochus was, apparently, a roadstead between Mylae, modern Milazzo, on the northeastern coast of Sicily and the promontory of Pelorus. Reference is here made to the second battle between Agrippa and Sextus, to the east of Mylae. In a previous engagement, west of Mylae, Agrippa had been only partially victorious. In the interval between these battles Octavian had landed near Tauromenium, modern Taormina, and in his defeat had incurred grave personal danger. Soon afterward he succeeded in landing an enormous army at Mylae. The naval victory of Naulochus and surrender of Pompey's land forces ensued. Pompey lost all but seventeen ships and left at once for the East. These decisive battles were fought in the autumn of 36 B.C. It is uncertain whether September third was the date of the naval victory or of the surrender of the army of Lepidus. See App., *B. C.* V. 105. 433–122. 505; Dio XLIX. 1. 1–11. 1; Vell. II. 79. 2–5; *C. I. L.* I, page 401.

26. sub horam: *just before the hour. Sub* is thus used to mean

'just before or 'just after'. **arto**: *sound, deep;* cf. *Ner.* 46. 1, *in artissimas tenebras.* Here the metaphor is that of tight bonds.

27. ut ad dandum, etc.: in fact, Octavian seems not to have been aboard ship in either of the battles of Mylae. In the second encounter he may have given the order for the signal, though in command of the land forces. **excitaretur**: considering our author's fondness for the perfect tense in consecutive clauses, the imperfect of a momentary act is here noteworthy. See note to page 51, line 20; Introd. II. § 7. *g.*

28. putem: see Introd. II. § 8. *a.* **exprobrandi**: Octavian's career as a naval officer had, in fact, been a succession of defeats and disasters, enhanced more than once by mishaps from storms and shipwreck. At Tauromenium, too, Cornificius and his meager forces were abandoned almost as a prey to the enemy. But Octavian could show the scars of honorable wounds, and there appears to be no just reason for such malicious sneers at his courage; cf. *Aug.* 20. They may have originated, as Merivale suggests, in the weakness of his health: *Hist. of Rom.* III.[4] 213.

29. rectis . . . oculis: *with steady eyes, with steadfast gaze;* cf. Sen., *Ep. Mor.* XVIII. 1. (104.) 24, *si quis rectis oculis intueri illa possit et tenebras perrumpere.*

30. supinum . . . cubuisse: *lay on his back in a stupor gazing up at the sky;* cf. *Claud.* 33. 1, *supino ac per somnum hianti;* Hor., *Sat.* I. 5. 19, *Nauta piger . . . stertitque supinus.*

Page 54. **1. M.** (*Vipsanio*) **Agrippa**: placed in command of the fleet after the disaster at the Scyllaean promontory in 38 B.C. He deserved the chief credit for the successful termination of the war and had the unprecedented honor of a naval crown conferred upon him; cf. Liv., *Epit.* CXXIX, *M. Agrippa navali corona a Caesare donatus est; qui honos nulli ante eum habitus erat.* See Vell. II. 81. 3; Plin., *N. H.* XVI. 4. 7 f. Consult note to page 53, line 21. **fugatae sint**: represents *fugatae sunt* of *O. R.*, the same tense being retained in *O. O.* See Introd. II. § 7. *e.* (4).

2. dictum factumque: explained, respectively, by *quasi . . . exclamaverit* and (*quasi*) *die . . . detraxerit.* For these clauses see note to page 48, line 23.

3. etiam invito, etc.: a remark which, if really made by Octavian, was characterized by wit rather than sacrilege, since he doubtless had in mind the absurd claim of Sextus that he was 'Neptune's son'. Both Dio (XLVIII. 19. 2) and Appian (*B. C.* V. 100. 416 f.) tell the story

about Pompey. Horace pictures the flight of this *Neptunius dux* in *Epod.* IX. 7 ff.

4. die circensium proximo: *on the next day that there were games in the Circus.* On the *ludi Circenses* see note to page 19, line 31. In the rear of the sacred procession (*sollemni pompae*) were borne statues of deities in chariots (*tensae*) or in litters (*fercula*) on men's shoulders. Neptune was denied this honor on this occasion. We learn (*Jul.* 76. 1) that Julius Caesar had, along with other honors, *tensam et ferculum circensi pompa.*

6. Nec temere: = *nec facile, and hardly;* cf. page 84, line 13; page 91, line 17; *non temere* on page 78, line 4, and page 89, line 26. In this use *temere* regularly occurs with the negative particle.

7. Traiecto . . . exercitu: the army transported from Leucopetra to the vicinity of Tauromenium and placed under the command of Cornificius after the first battle at Mylae. Octavian betook himself to the fleet at the approach of the forces of Sextus and lost heavily in the ensuing engagement. Cornificius and his men were subjected to terrible sufferings on their retreat across the island till rescued by Agrippa's relief expedition. See App., *B. C.* V. 109. 451–115. 481; Dio XLIX. 5. 1–7. 6. **partem reliquam**, etc.: *was going to get the remainder of his troops on the mainland;* i.e. the forces under Messala: cf. App., *B. C.* V. 112. 469. *Continenti* is a local ablative without a preposition; see Introd. II. § 4. *r.*

8. oppressus ex inproviso: *surprised;* because Octavian was confident that Sextus was still occupied at Mylae with the forces of Agrippa.

9. ex inproviso: see Introd. II. § 5. *j.* (2). **praefectis**: sc. *classis*, *admirals;* freedmen of Sextus appointed by him to succeed Menecrates, who had been killed off Cumae, 38 B.C., and Menodorus (or Menas), who had deserted to Octavian. Demochares, at least, had been in command against Agrippa at Mylae. See App., *B. C.* V. 84. 356; Dio XLIX. 2. 1.

10. aegerrime effugit: he landed with one armor-bearer at a place called by Appian (*B. C.* V. 112. 466) the harbor of Abala and from there escaped to Messala's camp. **Iterum cum**, etc.: not mentioned by Appian or Dio.

11. praeter Locros: *past Locri; i.e.* Locri Epizephyrii, a celebrated colony of the Locrians founded in 683 B.C. in the southeastern part of Bruttium. The modern Gerace stands on the site of the ancient city. **Regium**: modern Reggio, situated on the Sicilian straits, was usually the point of departure for those crossing to Sicily.

14. per devios tramites: *over narrow by-paths.* **Aemili Pauli**: son of the L. Aemilius Paulus who was brother of the triumvir M. Aemilius Lepidus. The father was proscribed with the consent of Lepidus because he had been one of the senators who voted to declare Lepidus a public enemy for having joined Antony. Allowed to escape to Brutus, he later went to Miletus, where he persisted in remaining even when pardoned by the triumvirs. See App., *B. C.* IV. 12. 45, 37. 155; Dio XLVII. 6. 3.

15. dolens . . . et quasi, etc.: note coördination with change of construction; see Introd. II. § 10. *a* and II. § 6. *l*. **ab eo**: *i.e.* by Octavian; though Lepidus was really responsible for his proscription, as already noted.

18. Post Pompei fugam: after his defeat near Naulochus, in 36 B.C., Sextus fled to Lesbos, where he hoped to find asylum with Antony. Failing of this, he was finally put to death by Titius, an officer of Antony, in 35 B.C. For the details see App., *B. C.* V. 133. 550–144. 600; Dio XLIX. 17. 1–18. 7.

19. quem ex Africa, etc.: summoned from his province of Africa on July first, 36 B.C., Lepidus obeyed orders, but acted independently in taking Lilybaeum and proceeding at his leisure to Messana. Here he entered into treasonable negotiations with Plennius, at that time holding the city against Agrippa. Lepidus was permitted to sack Messana. See App., *B. C.* V. 122. 504 ff.; Dio XLIX. 11. 2 ff. **superbientem**, etc.: *puffed up with confidence in his twenty legions and claiming the chief rôle for himself by intimidation and threats.* Lepidus was now in command of the twelve legions brought with him from Africa and the eight given him by Plennius, Pompey's lieutenant at Lilybaeum. Appian (*B. C.* V. 123. 509) gives the number as twenty-two of infantry, while Velleius (II. 80. 2) speaks of the number as *amplius viginti legionum.* The two additional legions, according to Appian (*B. C.* V. 104. 430 ff.), were the remnant of four fresh legions from Africa that had escaped shipwreck off Lilybaeum. Velleius states that the folly and audacity of Lepidus reached such a pitch that he claimed the entire victory as his own and ordered Octavian to withdraw from Sicily.

21. spoliavit exercitu: his legions were unwilling to enter upon another civil war, were not won over to Lepidus even by the sack of Messana, and hastened to go over to Octavian in a body. See App., *B. C.* V. 123. 509–126. 523; Dio XLIX. 11. 2–12. 5. **supplicem**: *brought to his knees.* Cf. Vell. II. 80. 4: *Lepidus et a militibus et a fortuna desertus pulloque velatus amiculo inter ultimam confluentium ad Caesarem turbam latens genibus eius advolutus est.*

22. concessa vita: stripped of all authority and power, Lepidus nevertheless continued to hold the pontifical office until his death; cf. *Aug.* 31. 1; App., *B. C.* V. 126. 523; Vell. II. 80. 4. **Cerceios . . . relegavit**: Circei was an ancient town of Latium at the base of the Mons Circeius, modern Monte Circello, not far from the sea, sometimes selected as a place of banishment because of its isolation. In the imperial law *relegatio* was the milder form of banishment, without the loss of property or civil status. It was not always 'for life', as it was in this case. Appian, indeed, simply states (*B. C.* V. 126. 523) that Lepidus was sent to Rome. Dio (LIV. 15. 5 ff.) says, however, that he was summoned to Rome at a later time to be subjected to still greater humiliation.

Chapter 17. Final Rupture between Octavian and Antony. Battle of Actium. Capture of Alexandria. Treatment of Antony's Relatives and Retainers

23. M. Antoni societatem: *his alliance with Mark Antony.* Note the genitive *Antoni* and compare page 9, line 4, *societatem cum utroque iniit.* See Introd. II. § 4. *d.*

24. male focilatam: *with difficulty kept alive.* *Focilare* is a Silver Latin word; cf. Plin., *Ep.* III. 14. 4, *Ipse paucis diebus aegre focilatus . . . decessit.* Reconciliations between Octavian and Antony had been effected (1) in the autumn of 43 B.C., following upon Mutina, when the Second Triumvirate was formed; cf. App., *B. C.* IV. 24 ff.; Dio XLVI. 54. 3–55. 4; (2) in the summer of 40 B.C. (after Perusia and the death of Fulvia), at Brundisium, through the good offices of Maecenas, Pollio and Cocceius, and attended by the betrothal of Octavia to Antony; cf. App., *B. C.* V. 56. 235–64. 273; Dio XLVIII. 28. 1–30. 2; (3) by the treaty of Tarentum, in 37 B.C., according to the terms of which the Triumvirate was renewed for a second period of five years. Maecenas and Cocceius, already *aversos soliti componere amicos* (Hor., *Sat.* I. 5. 29), and Fonteius Capito were sent to negotiate with Antony at this time, but the noble Octavia again rendered striking service to her brother and her truant husband. See App., *B. C.* V. 93. 387–95. 398; Dio XLVIII. 54. 1 ff.; Plut., *Ant.* XXXV. **abrupit tandem**: mutual recriminations between Octavian and Antony ensued upon the humiliation of Lepidus in 36 B.C. and the death of Sextus Pompeius in 35 B.C. The people's disgust grew apace at Antony's mad career of intrigue and treason with Cleopatra, and his brutal treatment of the faithful Octavia. Octavian's successful military exploits, on the contrary, among Illyrians,

Pannonians, Dalmatians and Salassi, no less than his prudent and conservative course of action towards the self-expatriated Antony and his escapades in the Orient, commanded the increasing respect and admiration of the Roman mind. Antony's proposed assignment of eastern kingdoms to his children by Cleopatra and, particularly, his recognition of Caesarion as the legitimate heir of Caesar and Cleopatra were sufficient to arouse Octavian to instant action at the opportune moment. The final rupture occurred when Sosius, consul of 32 B.C., proposed to ratify Antony's acts and inveighed against Octavian in a severe harangue. Octavian's reply of the following day was couched in such terms that the consuls, both adherents of Antony, left for Alexandria, and Antony openly despatched a writ of divorcement to Octavia from Athens. The declaration of war against the Egyptian queen, not the unworthy Roman citizen, followed in due course. See Dio XLIX. 35. 1–38. 4, 41. 1–4; L. 2. 2–3. 5, 6. 1; Plut., *Ant.* LV–LVI.

25. degenerasse . . . more: *had fallen away from the conduct becoming a citizen.* Dio (L. 5. 1 ff.) and Plutarch (*Ant.* LVIII) mention some of the ways adopted by Antony at Alexandria that were considered particularly un-Roman and degrading. Horace (*Epod.* IX. 11 ff.) well expresses the horror felt at such indignities to the Roman name. Cleopatra even had hopes of transferring the seat of empire to Alexandria. Cf. Dio L. 4. 1, LI. 15. 4; Hor., *Od.* I. 37. 6 ff.

26. testamentum: M. Titius and L. Munatius Plancus, deserters from Antony, disclosed the facts relating to Antony's will, which they had witnessed. Their information served as an excuse for searching out the will and making public its contents, the nature of which was such as to relieve Octavian of all censure for his lawless act. Most exasperating of its clauses were those in which Caesarion was alleged to be Caesar's true heir, enormous gifts were assigned to Antony's children by Cleopatra and orders were given that his body be buried at Alexandria beside Cleopatra. See Dio L. 3. 1–5; Plut., *Ant.* LVIII. **quod is Romae**, etc.: in the keeping of the Vestal Virgins, according to Plutarch (*Ant.* LVIII), though Dio (L. 3. 3) speaks of 'him who had it' as if it were in the keeping of some one else. Suetonius, at least, does not state, as Casaubon and Pitiscus supposed was the case, that this was merely a copy of a will made and kept at Alexandria. **de Cleopatra liberis**: *children by Cleopatra*; a rare use of this preposition even with participles of birth and origin: see Introd. II. § 5. *i.* (1). More common is *ex*; see page 47, lines 27 f., *quam ex Ancharia . . . quos ex Atia tulerat.* The children were the twins, Alexander and Cleopatra, and Ptolemy (called Phila-

delphus). While deprived at Antony's death of their pretended sovereignties, these children by Cleopatra not only had their lives spared, but were brought up, along with her own and Fulvia's children, by the magnanimous Octavia. See Dio XLIX 41. 3; LI. 15. 6; Plut., *Ant.* LIV and LXXXVII.

28. Remisit . . . iudicato: sc. *Antonio; although Antony was adjudged a public enemy, he nevertheless sent back to him.* When the consuls left Rome immediately after Octavian's reply to their inaugural address in January, 32 B.C., Octavian made it appear that he had voluntarily sent them away and even granted others permission to depart to Antony. Although Antony was not mentioned in the declaration of war against Cleopatra, the attitude towards him at Rome was well understood. See Dio L. 2. 7, 4. 4 f.; App., *B. C.* IV. 38. 161.

29. necessitudines: *kinsfolk;* abstract for concrete, a post-Augustan usage: cf. *Tib.* 11. 5, 50. 1; Tac., *Hist.* III. 59. See Introd. II. § 2. *a.*

30. C. Sosium: quaestor in 66 B.C. and praetor in 49 B.C., he became one of Antony's chief lieutenants in the East and governor of Cilicia and Syria. In 37 B.C. he restored Herod to the throne in Jerusalem. For this he celebrated a triumph. He was consul with Domitius in 32 B.C. See Plut., *Ant.* XXXIV and references in note to *abrupit tandem*, line 24 above. **T. Domitium** (*Ahenobarbum*): an error of the MSS., or mistake of the author, for *Cn. Domitium;* cf. Dio, XLVIII. 7. 4, L. 2. 2. Though said by Cocceius not to have been one of Caesar's assassins, he is mentioned by Appian (*B. C.* V. 59. 247) and Dio (XLVIII. 7. 5, 54. 4) among that number; cf. App., *B. C.* V. 62. 261. He was on the proscription lists of 43–42 B.C., but held out against the triumvirs until after Philippi. A reconciliation was later effected with Antony, with whom he served against the Parthians. Antony's influence was responsible for his being consul with Sosius in 32 B.C. Both consuls fled to Antony, as seen in the note to line 24, above. Like Q. Dellius, *desultorem bellorum civilium* (Sen., *Suas.* I. 7), however, he transferred his allegiance to Octavian before Actium and died before the battle. Sosius survived the battle and was granted life and liberty by Octavian. See Dio L. 13. 6, LI. 2. 4. **tunc adhuc**: = *etiam tum;* cf. *Tib.* 14. 2, *ignota scilicet tunc adhuc Caesarum potestate.*

31. Bononiensibus . . . publice: *the people of Bononia* (modern Bologna) *as a community.* A distinguished Roman *gens* might thus act as patron of a colony or of an allied or conquered state and represent its interests at Rome. Thus we read in *Tib.* 6. 2: *ac Lacedaemoniis publice,*

quod in tutela Claudiorum erant, demandatus, etc. Dio (L. 6. 3) implies that a colony had been settled at Bononia by Antony.

32. gratiam fecit, etc.: *excused from taking the oath of allegiance to his party in common with all Italy. Gratia* in the sense, 'dispensation', 'release from', followed by the genitive case is unusual; cf. *Tib.* 35. 1, *Equiti Romano iuris iurandi gratiam fecit*, with a following subjunctive clause; *Dom.* 14. 2, *Ut edicti . . . gratiam faceret;* Plaut., *Rud.* 1414 f., *iuris iurandi volo gratiam facias.* See Introd. II. § 9. *c.* (2). In *Cal.* 15. 4 the phrase occurs in the sense of 'pardon': *criminum . . . gratiam fecit.* The French '*faire grace de*' may be compared. **coniurandi . . . pro partibus suis**: compare *consentire pro partibus* on page 51, line 25. *Partibus suis* can refer only to the party of Octavian; not to Antony's party, as stated in Harper's Lexicon s.v. *coniurare*, II. Dio's statement (L. 6. 3) that Octavian settled again the population of Bononia in order to have it appear that they were his colonists is hard to reconcile with this assertion of Suetonius, unless we understand Dio to mean that the Bolognese were thus shown a special favor at the same time that they were granted exemption from service with him. But the two accounts may represent entirely opposite views of the situation at Bononia. Casaubon quotes Ovid (*Tr.* I. 5. 39 f.) in this connection:

> *Saepe fidem adversis etiam laudavit in armis:*
> *Inque suis amat hanc Caesar, in hoste probat.*

Page 55. 2. apud Actium: September 2, 31 B.C. Actium was a promontory in Acarnania at the entrance of the Ambraciot gulf, at the point (*acte*) of which stood a temple of Apollo Actius. On the opposite side of the channel into the Ambraciot gulf Augustus later founded his 'City of Victory', Nicopolis; see *Aug.* 18. 2; cf. Dio LI. 1. 1. For this use of *apud* see Introd. II. § 5. *e.* **vicit**: the two squadrons of Octavian's fleet were commanded by Agrippa and Octavian in person; cf. Plut., *Ant.* LXV. Velleius (II. 85. 2) gives a different and less accurate account of the disposal of the forces. **in serum**: sc. *diei* or *noctis; until a late hour.* Plutarch states (*Ant.* LXVIII) it was at least the tenth hour, 4 P.M., when the forces finally separated; but our author's words may point to a later hour. *Serum* without a defining genitive, *diei* or *noctis*, is found in Livy and Tacitus. Cf. *Ner.* 22. 2, *in serum protrahebatur; Oth.* 11. 1, *in serum usque patente cubiculo.* See Introd. II. § 5. *k.* (1). (*b*). **dimicatione protracta**: the conflict was, naturally, more prolonged by reason of the great disparity between the lighter, swifter galleys of Octavian's fleet and the heavier, more bulky vessels of Antony. Nor did

the conflict end with the flight of Cleopatra's ships and of Antony in his mad pursuit of the queen. The victory was gained only when Octavian had set fire to the enemy's remaining ships: — a measure he had deferred in the hope of capturing them. Plutarch (*Ant.* LXVIII) quotes Octavian as stating in his account of the battle that three hundred ships were taken, with not more than five thousand men slain in the encounter. Details of the campaign may be found in Dio L. 4. 3–35. 6; Plut., *Ant.* LVI–LXVIII.

3. **Ab Actio**, etc.: this rather cumbersome sentence, said to be the longest in the *Lives*, well illustrates the author's characteristic conciseness of expression at the expense of rhetorical form. Its length, however, is quite exceptional, since his sentences in general are comparatively brief. His subordination by means of participles, instead of clauses or other forms of expression, is particularly noteworthy: no less than ten are thus employed. Of these three (*turbatus*, *conflictatus*, *commoratus*) are modifiers of the subject; one (*poscentium*) usurps the place of a relative clause; while the remaining six are found in the ablative absolute expressing time and attendant circumstances. In translating into English make at least three coördinate sentences out of the Latin sentence, ending, respectively, with the words *praemiserat*, *diffracto* and *potitus est.* See Introd. II. § 9. *a.*

4. **Samum**: on the southeastern coast of the island of the same name in the Sporades group off the coast of Ionia; modern Samo, the Turkish Susam Adassi. Octavian spent the entire winter of 31–30 B.C., following Actium, in Greece and Asia. Our author states (*Aug.* 26. 3) that Octavian entered on his fifth consulship in Samos; see note to page 60, line 27. He spent the winter of 21–20 B.C., also, at Samos after the settlement of affairs in Parthia and Armenia; cf. *Aug.* 21. 3. See Dio LI. 4. 1–3, 5. 1 f.; LIV. 7. 4. **nuntiis de seditione**: see Introd. II. § 5. *t.*

5. **praemia et missionem**: for the various kinds of *missio*, 'discharge', see note to *exauctoravit* on page 58, line 32. Octavian later fixed upon a bounty of 5000 denarii, about $800.00, for the pretorians at the expiration of sixteen years of service and of 3000 denarii for the legionaries after twenty years of service. Some of the demands at this time were satisfied through the assignment of lands belonging to Antony's adherents and through gifts of money obtained in the East; cf. Dio LI. 4. 5–7. **ex omni numero**: *from every division of his army.*

6. **Brundisium**: modern Brindisi, a celebrated city near the southeastern point of Italy, in Calabria and chief port of entry into Italy from Greece. Two columns near the modern quay are supposed to mark the end of the

Via Appia, along which, in part, the journey was taken that is so amusingly described by Horace (*Sat.* I. 5). See Dio LI. 4. 3 ff.

7. repetita Italia: *he returned to Italy;* to be translated as an independent clause, with a full stop at *diffracto*, though the first main verb in the Latin is *petit.* **tempestate . . . conflictatus**: *twice encountering a storm in the act of crossing;* cf. Liv. I. 3. 8, *in traiectu Albulae amnis submersus.* See Introd. II. § 5. *k.* (2). (*a*).

8. promunturia: possibly, the promontories of Rhium in Achaia and of Antirrhium in Aetolia, on which stand to-day the dilapidated ruins of the Venetian forts Kastro Moreas and Kastro Roumelias, respectively. These promontories form the narrow entrance to the Corinthian Gulf, now called the Little Dardanelles.

9. montes Ceraunios: the *infamis scopulos*, *Acroceraunia* of Horace (*Od.* I. 3. 20), modern Khimara; a range of mountains extending from the boundary of Illyricum along the coast of Epirus, rendering it dangerous for vessels: cf. Luc. V. 652 *f.*, *scopulosa Ceraunia nautae summa timent.* The term, Acroceraunia, 'Thunder Heights', was properly applied to the headland separating the Adriatic from the Ionian Sea. **Liburnicarum**: a name given to the light war vessels, long and narrow, modeled after the speedy craft of the piratical Liburnians, a tribe of Illyricum on the eastern coast of the Adriatic. The name of a vessel is thus a proper name. To vessels of this pattern Octavian probably owed, in large part, his victory at Actium. Thus Horace says (*Epod.* I. 1–4):

Ibis Liburnis inter alta navium,
Amice, propugnacula,
Paratus omne Caesaris periculum
Subire, Maecenas, tuo,

in contrasting the galleys of Octavian with the *propugnacula navium* of Antony's Egyptian fleet. Usually applied to a vessel of two banks of oars, the word is used of vessels of ten banks in *Cal.* 37. 2, *Fabricavit et deceris Liburnicas.* Nero's mother was conducted to Baiae in a vessel of this class; cf. *Ner.* 34. 2.

10. fusis . . . diffracto: *with scattering of tackle and helm in shatters;* chiasmus. See Introd. II. § 10. *h.*

12. septem . . . dies: Dio (LI. 5. 1) says he set sail for Greece the thirtieth day after his arrival at Brundisium. **desideria**: *demands, petitions;* post-Augustan for *postulata;* cf. page 78, line 10; page 101, line 18; Tac., *Ann.* I. 26. 4, *desideria legionum;* Plin., *Paneg.* 79. 6, *provinciarum desideriis.*

13. ordinarentur: Ihm would supply *omnia* in the text after *militum;* cf. *Claud.* 45, *donec circa successorem omnia ordinarentur.* The clause contains the purpose in the mind of the main subject as well as expressing temporal force; cf. page 75, line 28; page 91, line 25. **Brundisii commoratus**: Octavian went no further than Brundisium at this time. Here he was enthusiastically received by senators and citizens of every rank who had assembled to do him honor. He had just entered upon his fourth consulship in January, 30 B.C.; cf. Dio LI. 4. 3 ff.

15. brevi potitus est: into this sentence are crowded the events between the battle of Actium, September 2, 31 B.C., and Octavian's entrance into Alexandria on August 1, 30 B.C. Antony had gone to Alexandria only after making an ineffectual appeal to the army quartered in Libya. After the loss of his ships to Cornelius Gallus at Paraetonium and Cleopatra's betrayal of Pelusium to Octavian, Antony was finally deserted by the Egyptian fleet, at their queen's behest, and was thus deprived of all means of escape. At the false report of the queen's death he stabbed himself and later died in Cleopatra's arms in the mausoleum to which she had betaken herself. At about the same time, as Horace (*Od.* IV. 14. 35 f.) sings,

Portus Alexandrea supplex
Et vacuam patefecit aulam.

See Dio LI. 5.6, 9.1–11.1; Plut., *Ant.* LXXVI–LXXVIII; *C. I. L.* I, pages 324 and 328.

16. seras . . . temptantem: *tried too late to make terms of peace. Seras* has adverbial force; see Introd. II. § 3. *e.* Antony offered to live as a private citizen either in Egypt or, if that did not meet with Octavian's sanction, at Athens; see Plut., *Ant.* LXXII.

17. ad mortem adegit: Octavian drove Antony to his death only in the sense that he would listen to none of his proposed terms of reconciliation, but, aided by the machinations of the perfidious queen, deprived him of all hope of further resistance. His death was directly due, it seems, to a ruse of Cleopatra. See Dio LI. 8. 1 ff., 10. 6 ff.; Plut., *Ant.* LXXVI. Consult note to line 15, above. **ad mortem**, etc.: note the order of words and the repetition of derivatives from the same stem. Suetonius alone makes the statement that Octavian *looked on Antony in his death:* an act considered a cruelty unworthy of even a foe. Julius Caesar had refused to look at Pompey's head, and Pompey would not gaze on the corpse of Mithradates; cf. App., *B. C.* II. 90. 380; Plut., *Pomp.* XLII. But Dio (LI. 14. 3) does state that Octavian

viewed the dead body of Cleopatra. According to Plutarch (*Ant.* LXXVIII), Octavian withdrew to his tent and was moved to tears at sight of the bloody sword of Antony which Dercetaeus had brought him. **Cleopatrae**: observe the adversative asyndeton, in strong contrast with *Antonium quidem;* see Introd. II. § 10. *f.* (4). The dative follows *admovit;* see Introd. II. § 4. *j.*

18. quam servatam, etc.: Dio (LI. 11. 3 ff.) and Plutarch (*Ant.* LXXVIII) both record Octavian's great desire to have the Egyptian queen live to grace his triumph. But too proud was the spirit of the queen,

Saevis Liburnis scilicet invidens
Privata deduci superbo
Non humilis mulier triumpho,

exclaims the poet Horace (*Od.* I. 37. 30 ff.).

19. Psyllos: they inhabited the African desert near the Great Syrtis and are frequently mentioned by ancient writers from the time of Herodotus; cf. Her. IV. 173. Dio affirms (LI. 14. 3 ff.) that they suck the poison of reptiles from wounds without harm to themselves and are even proof against the venom when bitten. Plutarch also mentions (*Cat. Min.* LVI) their power as snake charmers. **quod perisse**, etc.: Cleopatra died in her fortieth year after a reign of twenty-two years, of which more than fourteen were in joint rule with Antony. Dio and Plutarch cast doubt upon the manner of her mysterious death and mention other means that were said to have been employed. Velleius and Florus follow the traditional account. Plutarch states, however, that an effigy of Cleopatra was borne in Octavian's triumphal procession with an asp clinging to her arm; thus indicating Octavian's belief, at least, in the commonly accepted version. The poets have preserved the common tradition, as witness Horace (*Od.* I. 37. 26 ff.),

fortis et asperas
Tractare serpentes, ut atrum
Corpore combiberet venenum,

and Propertius (IV. 10. 53), *Brachia spectavi sacris admorsa colubris.* See Dio LI. 14. 1 f.; Plut., *Ant.* LXXXVI; Vell. II. 87. 1; Flor. II. 21. 11.

20. communem sepulturae honorem: by hypallage for *communis sepulturae honorem;* see Introd. II. § 10. *j.* They were embalmed in the same manner and were buried, at Cleopatra's request, in the same tomb; see Dio LI. 12: 7, 15. 1; Plut., *Ant.* LXXXV f.

21. tumulum: the unfinished mausoleum of Cleopatra in the royal palace; cf. Dio LI. 8. 6, 10. 6 ff.

22. Antonium iuvenem: Marcus, elder son of Antony by Fulvia, the Antyllus of Dio and Plutarch, to whom Octavian's daughter had been betrothed in 37 B.C. as a political expedient and without serious thought of the match being consummated. After Actium he was sent on one of Antony's fruitless embassies to Octavian. He was betrayed, as was Caesarion, according to Plutarch, by his pedagogue Theodorus. A younger son of Antony by Fulvia, Iulus Antonius, was spared and was reared by the noble Octavia. See Dio XLVIII. 54. 4, LI. 6. 1, 8. 4, 15. 5; Plut., *Ant.* LXXXI, LXXXVII.

23. simulacro: probably an image of Julius in the mausoleum built in his honor by Cleopatra. The apartment in which the queen received Octavian is said to have contained many images of Julius Caesar. The sanctity attaching to such shrines as an asylum for fugitives in later times would hardly serve at any time for one subject to a charge of *maiestas*. Yet the triumvirs had, themselves, enacted that such privilege of asylum should attach to the shrine of the deified Julius. See Dio XLVII. 19. 2 f., LI. 12. 1 ff., 15. 5. **simulacro**: here follows *abreptum;* more usual would be the ablative and the preposition *a*: see Introd. II. § 4. *k*.

25. Caesarionem: so called by permission of Julius; see page 26, line 26. Plutarch (*Caes.* XLIX) speaks of the name as commonly applied to him by the Alexandrians. Dio refers to him (XLVII. 31.5) as a pretended son of Caesar. Antony's reason for representing him to be a true son of Caesar was evidently to bring discredit upon Octavian as an adopted son; see Dio XLIX. 41. 2 f.; *Jul.* 52. 2, with note to page 26, line 29.

26. retractum e fuga: realizing his danger, his mother had started him on his way to India by way of Aethiopia, but he was induced by his pedagogue to return on the ground that Octavian would place him on the throne of Egypt; cf. Plut., *Ant.* LXXXI. Dio (LI. 15. 5) simply states that he was overtaken *en route* and murdered. **supplicio adfecit**: *put him to death;* cf. Caes., *B. G.* I. 27. 4, *timore perterriti ne . . . supplicio adficerentur.* Plutarch (*Ant.* LXXXI) asserts that in deciding his fate Octavian was influenced by Areius's shrewd adaptation of Homer's famous saying (*Il.* II. 204), ''Tis no good thing, a multitude of Caesars', through the substitution of πολυκαισαρίη for Homer's πολυκοιρανίη, 'the rule of many'; cf. *Dom.* 12. 3. The words following this Homeric quotation, 'Let there be one ruler, one king', were used on one occasion by Caligula; cf. *Cal.* 22. 1.

27. Reliquos . . . liberos: see note to line 22, above, with references. The two just mentioned were not *communes* to Antony and Cleopatra, but children of either the one or the other. Octavia reared Antony's surviving children, by his other two wives as well as her own; see Plut., *Ant.* LXXXVII.

28. necessitudine iunctos sibi: *his own relatives.*

29. pro condicione cuiusque: *according to their several positions.*

Chapter 18. Egypt becomes a Province. Nicopolis is Founded

30. Per idem tempus: before he went to the province of Asia to spend the winter of 30–29 B.C. He returned to Rome in the course of the summer of 29 B.C. See Dio LI. 18. 1, 21. 1. **conditorium**. see Introd. II. § 1. *b.* **Magni Alexandri**: for the position of the adjective see Introd. II. § 10. *b.* (2). Alexander founded Alexandria near the Canopic mouth of the Nile in 331 B.C. Upon his death in 323 B.C. the government of Egypt fell to Ptolemy Soter, one of his generals, from whom succeeding rulers derived their name. Alexander's body was interred in a golden coffin at Alexandria and divine honors were paid him; cf. Dio LI. 16. 5. Caligula is said sometimes to have worn Alexander's breastplate, which had been taken from his tomb; cf. *Cal.* 52. The Roman government appointed an official of equestrian rank to be supervisor of the tomb of Alexander and the buildings connected with it; *Procurator Neaspoleos et mausolei Alexandriae* (*C. I. L.* VIII. 8934). See Momms., *Prov. of the Rom. Emp.* (Engl. Trans.) II. 271.

31. e penetrali: *from its shrine*, the sacred precinct at Alexandria in which were the tombs of Alexander and the Lagid kings; cf. Strab. XVII. 1. 8. The cult of the Ptolemies was associated with that of Alexander, as is seen from the Rosetta stone; cf. *C. I. G.* 4697, 4876. **corona . . . imposita**: an Oriental custom; cf. Curt. X. 1. 32: *Ceterum corona aurea imposita amiculo, cui adsueverat ipse, solium in quo corpus* [*Cyri*] *iacebat, velavit.*

32. floribus aspersis: a common practice among the ancients. Of the honors paid to Nero's tomb Suetonius (*Ner.* 57. 1) says: *non defuerunt qui . . . vernis aestivisque floribus tumulum eius ornarent.* **veneratus est**: post-Augustan when used of respect shown men and things; cf. *Claud.* 12. 2, *eosdem . . . veneratus est; Tib.* 29, *in appellandis venerandisque et singulis et universis; Vit.* 2. 4, *ad veneranda legionum signa.* **consultus**: note frequent use of participles in this sentence; see Introd. II. § 9. *a.*

Page 56. 1. Ptolemaeum: *the tomb of the Ptolemies;* cf. Dio LI. 16. 5. **regem se voluisse**, etc.: the acts and lives of the Ptolemies from the time of Philopator (222–205 B.C.), at least, had not been such as to provoke admiration from so constructive a statesman as Augustus.

2. Aegyptum . . . redactam: Roman legions had been quartered in Egypt in 55 B.C. when Aulus Gabinius restored Ptolemy Auletes to his throne. Yet Julius Caesar had hesitated to make a province of it for fear that, under some hot-headed governor, it might furnish material for a revolt; cf. *Jul.* 35. 1. The last prince of the Lagid house was now, 30 B.C., dead, however, and Augustus assumed the position of a Ptolemy with reference to Egypt. Under his administration, then, it became the private domain of the *princeps*, with a government unlike that of any province. It was under a *praefectus*, or 'viceroy', who was the direct servant of the emperor and responsible to him alone, uniting in his person the duties of both *legatus* and *procurator* of the ordinary imperial provinces. This *praefectus* of equestrian rank was supported by three legions (after Augustus, by two) and performed all the ceremonial functions of the Egyptian kings. The revenues and taxes became the private property of the emperor. Besides the *praefectus* there were at least two officials of rank known as the *iuridicus Aegypti*, for the administering of justice at Alexandria, and the *idiologus* (ἰδιολόγος, Strab. XVII. 1. 12), for the management of certain financial matters, both appointed by the emperor. Yet the principle of the dyarchy did not hold in Egypt, however desirous Augustus might have been to have it appear as subject, like the provinces, to the Roman people; cf. *M. A.* XXVII. 5. 24, *Aegyptum imperio populi Romani adieci.* Its status remained essentially unchanged from its organization in 30 B.C. to the time of Diocletian. Cf. Dio LI. 17. 1 ff.; Tac., *Hist.* I. 11, *Ann.* II. 59. 4. See Momms., *Prov. of the Rom. Emp.* (Engl. Trans.) II. 252–329; Arnold, *Rom. Syst. of Prov. Admin.*² (1906), 22 ff., 128 ff.

3. habiliorem, etc.: Egypt fed the Roman population during four months of every year, so that it may readily be understood why Augustus should consider it necessary to keep so important a source of supply under his direct control; cf. Plin., *Paneg.* 31. 2 : *Percrebruerat antiquitus urbem nostram nisi opibus Aegypti ali sustentarique non posse.* Aurelius Victor (*Epit.* I. 6) gives an estimate of the annual imports in the time of Augustus : *Huius* [*Augusti*] *tempore ex Aegypto urbi annua ducenties centena milia frumenti inferebantur.*

4. urbicae: = *urbis;* cf. page 74, line 27, *urbanisque rebus;* page 74, line 32, *magistratibus urbicis;* page 25, line 9, *urbicis negotiatoribus;*

Ner. 23. 1, *urbicas res.* See Introd. II. § 3. *c.* **fossas omnis**, etc.: *enlisted the services of his soldiers in the work of cleaning out all the canals into which the Nile overflows, which in the course of a great many years had become choked with mud.* This happened under the second viceroy, C. Petronius. By thus clearing the irrigating canals of accumulations of sand and mud, a full harvest was assured even when the Nile was at a lower stage than usual. See Momms., *Prov. of the Rom. Emp.* (Engl. Trans.) II. 273–276.

5. exaestuat: used here of the seething waters of the Nile at flood tide; cf. Liv. XXVI. 42. 8, *utcumque exaestuat aut deficit mare.* Suetonius also uses it in the sense, 'become overheated'; cf. *Tib.* 72. 2. **militari**: = *militum; so urbicae* for *urbis* in line 4 and *Actiacae* for *Actii* in line 6. See Introd. II. § 3. *c.*

6. Quoque: = *quo* + *-que; quo* introduces *esset.* **celebratior**: note the comparative of the passive participle; see Introd. II. § 9. *a.* (6).

7. Nicopolim: this 'City of Victory', commemorating the victory at Actium, was founded on the Epeirot promontory facing that of Actium in Acarnania. Its site, now called Paleo Prévesa, was three miles north of the present city of Prévesa. Considerable architectural remains are still in evidence there. Cf. Paus. VII. 18. 8, X. 38. 4; Strab. X. 2. 2; Dio L. 12. 3 ff., LI. 1. 3.

8. ludos: called *Actia* and consisting of contests in gymnastics, horse-racing and music. They were probably celebrated on September second, the anniversary of the battle. They were, no doubt, a revival of an ancient festival on the promontory of Actium; cf. Strab. VII. 7. 6. These games must not be confused with the Actia instituted at Rome in 28 B.C. in honor of the same victory; cf. Dio LIII. 1. 4 ff. Games of a like nature were also celebrated at another Nicopolis near Alexandria, founded in honor of Octavian's victory over Antony; cf. Strab. XVII. 1. 10. See Dio LI. 1. 2. **ampliato**: = *aucto, amplificato; enlarged:* cf. page 21, line 5, *numerum ampliavit;* page 70, line 19, *Senatorum censum ampliavit; Ner.* 22. 2, *velle se palmarum numerum ampliari.*

9. Apollinis templo: this ancient temple was probably situated at the very point (*acte*), modern La Punta, of the peninsula near the modern Fort La Punta; cf. Thuc. I. 29. 3; Dio L. 12. 7. From his worship there Apollo received the title *Actius* or *Actiacus.* Properly speaking, Actium was not a town, but may have been a kind of suburb to the new Nicopolis, situated half a mile away across the strait. **locum castrorum**, etc.: *the site of the camp which he had occupied.* The tent of Octavian before the battle was probably on the height, now called Mikha-

litzi, commanding an extensive view alike of the outer sea near Paxa, the inner Ambraciot gulf and the intervening waters; cf. Dio L. 12. 7 f. His camp was on the lower ground, where Nicopolis later was built. Dio states (LI. 1. 3) that a foundation of stones was laid on the spot where Octavian's tent had been and that a shrine of Apollo was located there, open to the sky and adorned with beaks of captured ships. **fuerat usus**: in compound passive tenses Suetonius often uses the tenses of *esse* formed on the perfect stem in preference to those formed on the present stem; cf. page 22, line 9, *perscriptum fuisset;* page 65, line 9, *fuerat occisus.* Livy's fondness for the same usage may be compared. See Introd. II. § 7. *h.*

10. navalibus spoliis: the beaks of the captured ships, as seen from Dio LI. 1. 3. Other trophies of the naval battle consisting of captured ships of various sizes, from a trireme to a vessel of ten banks of oars, were apparently set up as an offering to Apollo Actiacus in connection with the enlargement of the ancient temple; cf. Dio LI. 1. 2; Strab. VII. 7. 6. The trophies are mentioned in an epigram of the first century, A.D.; cf. *Anthol. Pal.* VI. 236. **Neptuno ac Marti**: such a double dedication might naturally follow a naval victory. No disaster resembling those in the Sicilian war had occurred to retard the movements at Actium; cf. *Aug.* 16. Shuckburgh suggests, in his note to this passage, that the dedication to Neptune was an *amende honorable* for the impious *etiam invito Neptuno victoriam se adepturum* of *Aug.* 16. 2; but see note to page 54, line 3. Our author alone mentions the double dedication. Dio states (LI. 1. 2 f.) that the shrine was in honor of Apollo.

Chapter 19. Plots and Conspiracies

11. Tumultus . . . initia: *insurrections and incipient revolutions.* Cicero (*Phil.* VIII. 1. 2–4), in distinguishing between *bellum* and *tumultus*, concludes that while a *bellum* may exist without a *tumultus*, the reverse of this is impossible. Strictly speaking, however, *bellum* was not declared except against those persons, whether citizens or not, who had been formally named as *hostes* by the government. **coniurationes**: conspiracies against the life of Augustus.

12. prius . . . detectas: *betrayed through disclosure before they could become powerful;* cf. *Vesp.* 11, *Libido atque luxuria . . . invaluerat; Ner.* 27. 1, *invalescentibus vitiis. Convalescere* occurs in a similar meaning on page 71, line 16.

13. (*Marci Aemili*) **Lepidi**: son of the triumvir and of Junia (sister of M. Brutus); Velleius (II. 88. 1) speaks of him as *iuvenis forma quam mente melior.* Livy (*Epit.* CXXXIII) apparently dates the conspiracy after the triumph of 29 B.C. Velleius states that Lepidus had formulated his plans, *dum ultimam bello Actiaco Alexandrinoque Caesar imponit manum*, to assassinate Octavian immediately upon his return from Egypt. The conspiracy was suppressed by Maecenas and punishment meted out to Lepidus. His father's treatment by Octavian since 36 B.C. and his mother's natural antipathy to the emperor were largely responsible for the plot. See Dio LIV. 15. 4 f.; App., *B. C.* IV. 50. 216 ff.; Vell. II. 88. 1.

14. deinde, etc.: note the variation of connectives in a succession of phrases: *mox*, *exin*, *ac praeter has*, *item*, *ad extremum;* cf. *Jul.* 37. 1. **Varronis . . . Caepionis**: A. Licinius Murena was adopted by A. Terentius Varro and was then known as A. Terentius Varro Murena. He was thus the brother of Terentia, Maecenas's wife, and brother or cousin of the Proculeius of Horace, *Od.* II. 2. 5 ff. Sent against the Alpine tribe of the Salassi in 25 B.C., Murena reduced them to submission and founded the city of Augusta Praetoria, modern Aosta; cf. Dio LIII. 25. 3–5. He was a member of the Augural College and *consul suffectus* for 23 B.C.; cf. Hor., *Od.* III. 19. 10 f. Accused of complicity in Caepio's conspiracy in 23–22 B.C., not even his distinguished connections could save him from condemnation. Dio intimates (LIV. 3. 4–5) that the accusation may have been a calumny and credits Murena with an unsparing outspokenness to all alike. Horace's prophetic words in the ode (II. 10) addressed to him may well be recalled to mind. Connected with this conspiracy was the estrangement between Augustus and Maecenas; see note to page 85, line 1. Nothing further is known of Caepio than what Velleius (II. 91. 2) tells us by way of contrasting him with Murena: *quippe L. Murena et Fannius Caepio diversis moribus* (*nam Murena sine hoc facinore potuit videri bonus*, *Caepio et ante hoc erat pessimus*) *cum iniissent occidendi Caesaris consilia*, *oppressi auctoritate publica*, *quod vi facere voluerant*, *iure passi sunt.* The prosecution was conducted by Tiberius; cf. *Tib.* 8. Both men failed to appear for trial, were condemned in their absence from the city and were executed soon afterwards; cf. Dio LIV. 3. 5–6. **M. Egnati** (*Rufi*): as aedile in 20 B.C., he won popular favor by the aid rendered during a fire and was made praetor the following year, contrary to law. C. Sentius Saturninus, consul of 19 B.C., refused to accept his name as a candidate for the consulship of 18 B.C. Egnatius *adgregatis simillimis sibi interimere*

Caesarem statuit, ut quo salvo salvus esse non poterat, eo sublato moreretur, according to Velleius (II. 91. 3), who dates his crime three years after that of Murena. Dio seems to place it in 26 B.C. Cf. Dio LIII. 24. 4 ff.; Vell. II. 91. 3, 92. 4.

15. Plauti Rufi: not otherwise known, unless he is to be identified with the Publius Rufus mentioned by Dio (LV. 27. 1 f.) in connection with certain insurrectionary schemes of 6 A.D., a year of fires and famine. Some coins of Augustus contain the name of C. Plotius Rufus as triumvir of the mint; see Eckhel, *Doctr. Num.* V. 278. **Luci** (*Aemili*) **Pauli**: husband of Augustus's granddaughter Julia, who was the daughter of the elder Julia and of Agrippa, and consul of the year 1 A.D. The date of his plot is not known. Possibly, it was in connection with his wife's banishment in 9 A.D. Aemilia Lepida, at one time betrothed to Claudius, was the daughter of this union; cf. *Claud.* 26. 1.

16. L. Audasi: nothing further is known of this conspirator, nor of Asinius Epicadus, nor of Telephus. **falsarum tabularum rei**: *charged with forgery*, which would be subject to the provisions of the *lex Cornelia testamentaria*, or *de falsis*, passed in the time of the dictator Sulla; cf. Paul. V. 25. 1; Cic., *in Verr.* II. 1. 108. The falsifying of any kind of document would come under this law and be punishable by banishment to an island or, in the case of *humiliores*, by crucifixion, work in mines, or other degrading punishment. See Smith, *Dict. of Gk. and Rom. Antiq. s. v. falsum.* **neque aetate . . . integri**: *feeble from age and bodily infirmity.*

17. Asini Epicadi: evidently, a freedman of C. Asinius Pollio, who triumphed over the Parthini, an Illyrian tribe, in 39 B.C.; cf. Dio XLVIII. 41. 7. After manumission he took the name of his patron and former master.

18. ibridae: *a hybrid, half breed; i.e.* born of a Roman father and an Illyrian mother. **ad extremum**: not necessarily in chronological order. Suetonius fails to mention the plot of Cn. Cornelius Cinna, consul in 4 A.D.; cf. Dio LV. 14. 1, 22. 1–2. After this conspiracy, Seneca says (*de Clem.* I. 9. 12), Augustus *nullis amplius insidiis ab ullo petitus est.* See Corneille's famous play, *Cinna ou La Clémence d'Auguste.*

19. servi nomenculatoris: *a page;* a slave who, in republican times, attended his master or mistress, particularly a man who was a candidate for office, to prompt him regarding the names of persons. Cicero writes (*ad Att.* IV. 1. 5): *Ad urbem ita veni ut nemo ullius ordinis homo nomenclatori notus fuerit qui mihi obviam non venerit.* Cf. Hor., *Ep.*

I. 6. 50: *Mercemur servum qui dictet nomina, laevum qui fodicet latus.* In later times the services of the *nomenclator* were chiefly in demand to remind the socially great of the names of their visitors; cf. Sen., *de Ben.* VI. 33. 4: *Quid? Istos tu libros, quos vix nomenclatorum complectitur aut memoria aut manus, amicorum existimas esse?* In our passage *servi*, in apposition to *nomenculatoris*, is unnecessary, but emphasizes the station of the *nomenclator;* 'a slave of a page', perhaps. The unsyncopated form, *nomenculator*, occurs also in *Calig.* 41. 1; *Claud.* 34. 2. **ultimae . . . sortis hominum**: *men of the lowest order;* as illustrated in the case of Telephus, a woman's *nomenclator*. *Sortis* here = *condicionis;* while in *Calig.* 35. 3, *extremae sortis*, it = *fortunae*. *Ultimus* is not often thus used in the sense of *infimus;* cf. Vell. I. 11. 1, *qui se Philippum regiaeque stirpis ferebat, cum esset ultimae;* Hor., *Ep.* I. 17. 35, *Principibus placuisse viris non ultima laus est.*

21. Iuliam: Octavian's daughter by Scribonia, banished to the island of Pandataria, modern Vantotene, a little north of the bay of Naples, from 2 B.C. to 3 A.D.; cf. *Aug.* 63. 1; Tac., *Ann.* I. 53. 1. This island was later the place of exile of Agrippina, Julia's daughter, and of Octavia, wife of Nero; cf. *Tib.* 53. 2; Tac., *Ann.* XIV. 63. 1. See note to page 83, line 9. **Agrippam**: Agrippa Postumus, son of Agrippa and the elder Julia. His exile in the island of Planasia, modern Pianosa, near Elba, began in 7 A.D.; see Tac., *Ann.* I. 3. 4; Dio LV. 32. 2. A like unsuccessful attempt was made to carry him off to the army in Germany after the death of Augustus; cf. Tac., *Ann.* II. 39. 2–40. 6. See note to page 83, line 12.

22. rapere ad exercitus: the armies were to revolt in the name of Julia and Agrippa.

23. quasi: *on the pretense that;* see Introd. II. § 6. *l.* The same doctrine was applied by Titus to deter aspirants to the throne; cf. *Tit.* 9. 1, *docens principatum fato dari.* **ipsum**: sc. *Augustum.*

24. destinarant: plural number, although the nearer subject, *Telephus*, is singular.

25. Illyrico exercitu: the army engaged in Illyricum, 35–34 B.C. See note to line 29, below.

27. impos: = *non compos;* a Plautine word, always joined with *animi* in Plautus; only here in Suetonius. **imposne mentis**, etc.: *whether he was out of his senses or merely feigning madness is a question.* Observe the change from adjective to ablative absolute in the disjunctive question following the parenthetic *incertum;* see Introd. II. § 3. *d;* II. § 10. *a.*

Chapter 20. Conduct of Foreign Campaigns: Dalmatian and Cantabrian

29. per se: *in person;* equivalent to (*suo*) *ductu* on page 57, line 5, as opposed to *auspiciis suis*. **Delmaticum**: in the years 35–34 B.C. The Dalmatians were one of the numerous Illyrian tribes, on the east coast of the Adriatic. Yet this campaign began among the Iapydes, farther north, who held treaty rights with Rome; cf. Cic., *pro Balb.* XIV. 32. Their chief town, Metulum, identified with the modern Möttling or Metlika, was finally subdued by Augustus in 34 B.C. after a stubborn resistance; see Dio XLIX. 35. 1 ff. Augustus then turned his arms against the Pannonians, also an Illyrian tribe, to practise his soldiers, Dio says (XLIX. 36. 1), and provide them with sustenance from their booty; but he seems to have had no complaint against this tribe. After the surrender of Siscia, modern Siszeg, the rest of the Pannonians capitulated. A revolt in Pannonia soon afterward was suppressed by Fufius Geminus and the troops that had been left there under his command. Against the Dalmatians both Augustus and Agrippa made successful expeditions, but not without incurring many hardships. See Dio XLIX. 35. 1–38. 4; App., *Illyr.* 16–22.

30. adulescens adhuc: a man was ordinarily called *iuvenis* from fifteen or seventeen to forty-six; *adulescens* from the earlier age to thirty. **Cantabricum**: against the Cantabri and Astures in northern Spain. 'Untaught as yet to bear our yoke', as Horace sings (*Od.* II. 6. 2), the Cantabrians made repeated attacks on tribes allied with Rome and were finally subdued by Augustus in 25 B.C. only after a most obstinate resistance. Indeed, Augustus fell ill and was forced to retire to Tarraco, leaving Gaius Antistius Vetus and, later, Titus Carisius to end operations there. Horace (*Od.* III. 14. 3 f.) celebrates the emperor's victorious return home: *Caesar Hispana repetit Penatis victor ab ora.* Though the Janus temple was then closed, the Cantabrians had ultimately to be subjugated by Agrippa, in 19 B.C.; cf. Hor., *Od.* III. 8. 21 f. See Dio LIII. 25. 5–8; LIV. 11. 2 ff.

31. dextrum genu: for the construction, as of *crus* and *brachium* in the next line, see Introd. II. § 4. *p*.

Page 57. **1. consauciatus**: *severely injured;* a rare word: cf. *Ner.* 26. 2, *atque etiam praetoris caput consauciavit.* This injury from the collapse of a drawbridge connecting a movable tower with the wall of the besieged occurred at Metulum; see note to page 56, line 29. Cf. Dio

XLIX. 35; Flor. 2. 23. 12. **per legatos**: among these lieutenant generals may be mentioned the following: Marcus Crassus, against the Dacians and Bastarnae, 29 B.C. (cf. Dio LI. 23. 2); Terentius Varro Murena, against the Salassi, 25 B.C. (cf. Dio LIII. 25. 3); Aelius Gallus, in his expedition into Arabia Felix, 24 B.C. (cf. Dio LIII. 29. 3); Gaius Petronius, against Candace, queen of Aethiopia, 22 B.C. (cf. Dio LIV. 5. 4); M. Vipsanius Agrippa, against the Cantabrians, 19 B.C. (cf. Dio LIV. 11. 2); M. Lollius, against the Thracian Bessi, 17 or 16 B.C., and German tribes on the Rhine, 16 B.C. (cf. Dio LIV. 20. 3 ff.); Tiberius and Drusus, step-sons of Augustus, in Rhaetia and Germany, 15–13 B.C. (cf. Dio LIV. 22. 1 ff., 25. 1 ff.); Tiberius, against the Celts, 6 A.D. (cf. Dio LV. 28. 5); Tiberius and Valerius Messalinus, against the Dalmatians, 6 A.D. (cf. Dio LV. 29. 1 ff.); Germanicus, against the Dalmatians, 7 and 9 A.D. (cf. Dio LV. 31. 1 ff.; LVI. 11. 1 ff.); Tiberius and Germanicus, in subduing the Pannonians, 9 A.D. (cf. Dio LVI. 12. 1 ff.); P. Quintilius Varus, defeated in the Teutoburg Forest, Germany, 9 A.D. (cf. Dio LVI. 18. 3 ff.). Through the substantial victories of Drusus and Tiberius, in fact, Augustus realized his scheme of rounding out the empire along the hitherto unsettled northern frontier. Cf. Hor., *Od.* IV. 4. 73–76:

Nil Claudiae non perficient manus,
Quas et benigno numine Iuppiter
Defendit et curae sagaces
Expediunt per acuta belli.

2. ut tamen: *so that nevertheless, while nevertheless; ut* expresses a restriction or proviso. See Lane, *Lat. Gram.*[2] 1964, and Introd. II. § 8. *m.* **Pannonicis**: sc. *bellis.*

3. interveniret: *was present during.* In 16 B.C. Augustus set out for Gaul, giving the wars in that region as an excuse. He remained there or in places easily accessible till 13 B.C., when all had been set in order in the provinces of Gaul, Germany and Spain; see Dio LIV. 19. 1, 20. 2 ff., 25. 1 ff. It was this absence and the longing of the Roman people for Octavian's return that prompted Horace's ode (IV. 5) beginning:

Divis orte bonis, optime Romulae
Custos gentis, abes iam nimium diu.

Ravennam . . . Mediolanium . . . Aquileiam: modern Ravenna, Milan and Aquileja, respectively. Suetonius and Livy seem to prefer the form *Mediolanium;* Pliny and Tacitus, *Mediolanum.*

Chapter 21. Foreign Conquests. Attitude towards Extension of the Empire. Standards Recovered

5. partim: see Introd. II. § 1. *f.* **ductu . . . auspiciis**: the actual leader in a campaign was called *dux*, but the *auspicia* were taken only by the *imperator*, the commander in chief. During the republic the *imperator* usually led in person; not so under the empire. Yet as chief commander of the armies it fell to the *imperator perpetuus* to take the auspices before the army set out, whether under his personal command or that of his lieutenants. Cf. *M. A.* IV. 1. 24 f., *Ob res a me aut per legatos meos auspicis meis terra marique prospere gestas;* XXVI. 5. 18 f., *Meo iussu et auspicio ducti sunt duo exercitus;* XXX. 5. 47 f., *exercitus meis auspicis victus profligatusque est.* For the case see Introd. II. § 4. *s.*

6. Cantabriam: see note to page 56, line 30. **Aquitaniam**: in Julius Caesar's time extending from the valley of the Garumna, modern Garonne, to the Pyrenees and the ocean; cf. Caes., *B.G.* I. 1. 7. Augustus extended this district, in 27 B.C., by the addition of fourteen tribes north of the Garonne, so that it was then bounded by the Rhodanus, modern Rhone, and Arar, modern Saône, the Liger, modern Loire, and the Pyrenees; cf. Strab. IV. 1. 1. Apparently, the Aquitanians were defeated by Agrippa in 38 B.C.; cf. App., *B.C.* V. 92. 386; Dio XLVIII. 49. 2 ff. They were finally subdued in 28 B.C. by M. Valerius Messala Corvinus, governor of the province. Tibullus served with him in Aquitania and celebrates his triumph of 27 B.C.; see Tib. I. 7. 7 ff.; II. 1. 33 ff. **Pannoniam**: see note to page 56, line 29.

7. Raetiam: comprised the modern Grisons, Tyrol and parts of northern Lombardy. It was conquered, with the adjoining states, in 15 B.C. by Drusus and Tiberius. See Dio LIV. 22. 1 ff.; Vell. II. 39. 3, 95. 2; Strab. IV. 6. 8. **Vindelicos**: in the region now included between the Lake of Constance (*lacus Venetus*) and the river Inn (*Aenus*). After its subjugation by Tiberius, Vindelicia was made into a separate province. Its capital, *Augusta Vindelicorum*, modern Augsburg, was founded about 14 A.D. Consult references in preceding note, together with Dio LIV. 23. 7. Cf. Hor., *Od.* IV. 14. 7–9:

Quem legis expertes Latinae
Vindelici didicere nuper,
Quid Marte posses.

Salassos: a powerful Alpine tribe inhabiting that part of Italy now known as the Val d' Aosta, from the valley of the Po to both the St.

Bernard passes. As early as 100 B.C. the colony of Eporedia, modern Ivrea, was founded at the entrance to the valley to hold them in check; cf. Vell. I. 15. 5. Decimus Brutus, *en route* to Gaul after Mutina, was forced to pay a toll of one drachma per man, as Strabo (IV. 6. 7) has it. Antistius Vetus was unsuccessful against the Salassi in 35 B.C. Messala reduced them only temporarily in 34 B.C. They were at last subdued by Terentius Varro Murena in 25 B.C. and *Augusta Praetoria*, modern Aosta, was then established there. See App., *Illyr.* 17; Dio XLIX. 38. 3, LIII. 25. 3. Over the Little St. Bernard was constructed the military road the continuation of which reached Lugdunum, modern Lyons, and Vienna, modern Vienne. Cf. Tac., *Hist.* II. 66, IV. 68, and see Momms., *Prov. of the Rom. Emp.* (Engl. Trans.) I. 19–22.

8. **Dacorum**: also called Getae (Dio LI. 27. 2), who lived on both sides of the Danube till driven back, and made constant invasions of Pannonia and Illyricum. Caesar had it in mind to subdue this tribe before his Parthian campaign; see note to page 49, line 30; App., *B.C.* II. 110. 459, III. 25. 93. However apocryphal the account of dealings with Cotiso (page 82, line 19, with note), Dio states (LI. 22. 8) that the Dacians cast in their lot with Antony. We read of a triumph accorded to M. Crassus *ex Thracia et Getis* in 27 B.C.; see *C. I. L.* I^2, page 50, XXXVII; cf. Dio LI. 25. 2–26. 6. Augustus (*M. A.* XXX. 5. 44 ff.) distinctly states that he at first extended the Illyrian frontier to the Danube; afterwards, beyond that river. Dio (LIV. 36. 2 f.) refers to an invasion of Pannonia by the Dacians in 10 B.C., which may be the second incursion mentioned in the *Monumentum Ancyranum*. Mommsen (*Res Gest.* 131 f.) concludes that the other invasion was that mentioned by Dio (LV. 30. 4) for 6 A.D.; cf. Flor. II. 28 f.; Tac., *Ann.* IV. 44. 1, with Furneaux's note. Numerous references in the literature of the period indicate constant troubles with this tribe; cf. Verg., *Georg.* II. 497; Hor., *Sat.* II. 6. 53, *Od.* III. 6. 14, etc. Mommsen (*Res Gest.* 132) places the last incursion in Augustus's lifetime in the year 10 A.D., but it was of no great moment. Trajan accomplished the final conquest of Dacia proper when it became, in 107 A.D., a Roman province. Trajan's wars are commemorated on a splendid column at Rome and on the triumphal arch at Beneventum. **tribus eorum ducibus**: three out of the four rulers, as Mommsen points out (*Res Gest.* 131), of the four divisions of the people mentioned by Strabo (VII. 3. 11).

9. **Germanosque**, etc.: even to reduce, temporarily, free Germany as far as the Elbe to the form of a province required years of brilliant warfare under three great generals. These campaigns were under the

leadership of Drusus, 13–9 B.C.; of Tiberius, 8 B.C. and 6 A.D.; of Domitius Ahenobarbus, who crossed the Elbe before 2 B.C. The district between the Rhine and the Elbe, considered for a short time a Roman province, was lost by the defeat of Varus, 9 A.D.; see note to page 58, line 8. Cf. Dio LIV. 25. 1, 32. 1–33. 5, 36. 3; LV. 1. 2–4; Vell. II. 97. 2, for Drusus; Dio LV. 6. 1–4, 28. 5 f.; Vell. II. 97. 4, for Tiberius; Dio LV. 10 *a*. 2; Tac., *Ann.* IV. 44. 3, for Domitius.

10. Suebos: a generic name in Tacitus, *Germ.* 2. 4, 38. 1, embracing a number of German tribes living for the most part east of the Elbe. Caesar (*B. G.* IV. 1. 3 ff.) speaks of them as the largest German people, comprising one hundred *pagi*, each of which sent out one thousand warriors annually, while a like force remained in reserve at home. But a name that is understood to mean 'wanderers' may readily be used in a vague sense. It has been supposed that the people here mentioned are the same as those of Tac., *Agr.* 28. 4. As Furneaux suggests in his note on this passage, it is probable that they would have been settled between the Rhine and the Scheldt. Only a part of the entire people must be meant here. **Suebos et Sigambros**, etc.: Julius Caesar introduced the policy of transplanting tribes for the sake of the effect produced both on the transferred tribe and on the people among whom they were settled. During the campaign of Tiberius in 8 B.C. the Sigambri were more dilatory in accepting his terms than were their neighbors, and were destroyed or settled on the Gallic bank of the Rhine. Suetonius (*Tib.* 9. 2) puts the number transferred at forty thousand. See Dio LV. 6. 1–3; Tac., *Ann.* II. 26. 3, XII. 39. 4.

12. male quietas: = *inquietas, in a state of unrest;* cf. page 54, line 24, *male focilatam; Tib.* 42. 1, *male diu dissimulata.* See Introd. II. § 10. *k*.

13. Nec ulli genti, etc.: as Augustus himself states (*M. A.* XXVI. 5. 13), *nulli genti bello per iniuriam inlato.* Yet Dio (XLIX. 36. 1) calls his invasion of Pannonia unprovoked. Cf. Aur. Vict., *Epit.* I. 10: *Adeo denique turbas, bella, simultates execratus est ut nisi iustis de causis numquam genti cuiquam bellum indixerit.*

14. tantumque afuit, etc.: the very rare personal construction, *tantum afuit*, is here followed by *a cupiditate* and the *ut*-clause, where two *ut*-clauses with *afuit* used impersonally would be more usual. See Lane, *Lat. Gram.*[2] 1969.

15. quoquo modo: *in any way whatsoever;* cf. Ter., *Ad.* 342, *Quapropter quoquo pacto tacitost opus.* **imperium . . . augendi**: corroborated by Dio (-Xiph. LVI. 33. 5 f.), who quotes from a fourth docu-

ment left by Augustus at his death; see note to page 108, line 1. Augustus advised Tiberius and the Roman people against desiring to increase the empire under any conditions. Dio asserts that Augustus himself had not wished to make large acquisitions of barbarian territory. Cf. Tac., *Ann.* I. 11. 7, *addideratque consilium coercendi intra terminos imperii, incertum metu an per invidiam.*

16. barbarorum principes: enumerated in *M. A.* XXXII. 5. 54–XXXIII. 6. 12; Tiridates and Phraates, the Parthian chiefs; Artavasdes, the Mede; Dumnobellaunus, from Britain. **aede Martis Ultoris**: in the forum of Augustus; see note to page 62, line 25.

17. mansuros se in fide: *would abide by their plighted word.*

19. feminas: exacted, it is thought, as hostages from the Germans; cf. Tac., *Germ.* 8. 1, *quam* (i.e. *captivitatem*) *longe impatientius feminarum suarum nomine timent, adeo ut efficacius obligentur animi civitatum quibus inter obsides puellae quoque nobiles imperantur.* The case of Cloelia in early Roman history may be cited; cf. Liv. II. 13. 6 ff. **exigere temptaverit**: *made trial of exacting;* not 'tried to exact'. **marum pignera**: *hostages that were males*, or *involving males. Marum* is an appositional genitive or a genitive of definition; see Introd. II. § 4. *f.*

21. fecit quotiens vellent: note the use of the aoristic perfect in an apodosis where a tense expressing iterative action is to be expected; cf. page 37, line 15, and note, where *maluit* occurs after an iterative subjunctive. For the mood of *vellent* see Introd. II. § 8. *h.* In our passage *semper* relieves the situation to a certain extent. See Introd. II. § 7. *c.*

22. rebellantis: mainly post-Augustan; cf. page 37, line 7, *rebellaverant; Vesp.* 4. 5, *rebellarunt.*

23. sub lege venundaret: *sold on the condition;* see Introd. II. § 5. *q.* The terms of such a sale sometimes forbade manumission at any time and, again, only until a specified time; see *Dig.* XL. I. 9–12. So when Varro sold the captive Salassi into slavery, they were not to be manumitted for at least twenty years; cf. Dio LIII. 25. 3 f., and see note to line 7, above.

26. Indos . . . Scythas: cf. *M. A.* XXXI. 5. 50 f.: *Ad me ex India regum legationes saepe missae sunt, numquam ante visae apud quemquam Romanorum ducem.* Among numerous embassies that came to Augustus while wintering at Samos in 20 B.C. was one from the Indians, who had previously opened friendly negotiations; cf. Dio LIV. 9. 8. Orosius (VI. 21. 19 f.) knows of deputies sent by the Indians and Scythians to Augustus, possibly in 26–25 B.C., at Tarraco in Further Spain. Legations from the Bastarnae in the neighborhood of the Tanais (modern Don) in Sarmatia, the Albanians and Iberians of the Caucasus regions and the distant

Medes are also mentioned by Augustus in the *Monumentum Ancyranum* (XXXI. 5. 51 ff.). The poets make frequent reference to these embassies: *e.g.* Verg., *Aen.* VI. 794, VIII. 705; Hor., *Od.* I. 12. 56, IV. 14. 41 ff. With our passage compare Hor., *Carm. Saec.* 55–56:

> *Iam Scythae responsa petunt superbi*
> *Nuper et Indi.*

By *Scythas* is meant the barbarian tribe dwelling in European Scythia between the Danube and Borysthenes (modern Dnieper) rivers; cf. Hor., *Od.* IV. 15. 24. **auditu modo cognitos**: *known only by hearsay;* cf. Eutrop. VII. 10: *Scythae et Indi, quibus antea Romanorum nomen incognitum fuerat, munera et legatos ad eum miserunt.*

28. Armeniam . . . cesserunt: *readily allowed his claim to Armenia.* Armenia Maior on the upper Euphrates had been made a client of Rome through Antony's treacherous dealings with Artavasdes in 34 B.C.; cf. Tac., *Ann.* II. 3. 2; Dio XLIX. 39. 1 ff.; Vell. II. 82. 3. When Artaxes, who had withdrawn to the Parthian prince (cf. Dio XLIX. 40. 1), was assassinated, in 20 B.C., Augustus says (*M. A.* XXVII. 5. 24 ff.) he might have made Armenia a province, but preferred to restore the throne to Tigranes, son of Artavasdes, who was living in exile at Rome at the time. This was accomplished through Tiberius, as Suetonius (*Tib.* 9. 1) states: *regnum Armeniae Tigrani restituit ac pro tribunali diadema imposuit.* See Dio LIV. 9. 4 f.; Vell. II. 94. 4.

29. signa militaria: standards taken (1) from M. Crassus, the triumvir, near Carrhae in 53 B.C.; cf. Dio XL. 25. 1 ff.; Flor. I. 46. 11; Plut., *Crass.* XXVII f.; (2) from L. Decidius Saxa, Antony's lieutenant, who was defeated in 41 B.C. by Pacorus, son of Orodes; cf. Dio XLVIII. 24. 3 ff.; (3) from Oppius Statianus, in charge of Antony's baggage-train and a part of his army that was destroyed by the Medes and Parthians in 36 B.C.; cf. Dio XLIX. 25. 2 ff.; Plut., *Ant.* XXXVIII. Augustus himself says (*M. A.* XXIX. 5. 40 ff.): *Parthos trium exercitum Romanorum spolia et signa reddere mihi supplicesque amicitiam populi Romani petere coegi.* Those taken by the Median prince had been restored to Antony in 33 B.C.; cf. Dio XLIX. 44. 2: not so those taken by the Parthians. Through diplomatic dealings with the Parthian king Phraates and the pretender Tiridates, Augustus finally had these standards restored by Phraates to him while he was spending the winter of 21–20 B.C. at Samos; cf. Dio LI. 18. 1 ff., LIII. 33. 1 f.; LIV. 7. 4–8. 2; Vell. II. 91. 1; *M. A.* XXXII. 5. 54 ff. They were deposited in the temple of Mars Ultor on the Capitol; cf. Dio LIV. 8. 3; *M. A.* XXIX. 5. 42 f. Other standards were recovered

from Gaul, Spain and Dalmatia, according to Augustus in *M. A.* XXIX. 5. 39 f. The poets never tire of singing the praises of such an achievement; cf. Hor., *Ep.* I. 18. 56; Propert. III. 1. 13 f., IV. 3. 6, 4. 48, 11. 8 f., V. 6. 79 ff. Noteworthy is Hor., *Od.* IV. 15. 4–9:

Tua, Caesar, aetas
Fruges et agris rettulit uberes
Et signa nostro restituit Iovi
Derepta Parthorum superbis
Postibus et vacuom duellis
Ianum Quirini clausit, etc.

30. obsidesque, etc.: Dio mentions (LI. 18. 3) a son of Phraates received as a hostage by Augustus in 30 B.C., while Strabo states (XVI. 1. 28) that at the time of the restitution of the standards Phraates delivered four sons into the hands of the governor of Syria, together with two of their wives and four children. See Vell. II. 94. 4 and note *M A.* XXXII. 6. 3 ff.: *Ad me rex Parthorum Phrates Orodis filius filios suos nepotesque omnes misit in Italiam, non bello superatus, sed amicitiam nostram per liberorum suorum pignora petens.*

31. pluribus quondam, etc.: *e.g.* at the time when Augustus was called upon to decide between Phraates and the pretender Tiridates in 23 B.C. See Dio LI. 18. 2 ff.; LIII. 33. 1 f. and note to line 29, above.

Chapter 22. Closing of Janus. Triumphs

Page 58. **1. Ianum Quirinum**: Janus is also called *Bifrons* and *Biformis* in connection with this temple; cf. Verg., *Aen.* XII. 198; Ov., *Fast.* I. 89; Hor., *Od.* IV. 15. 9, *Ianum Quirini.* This so-called temple (rather, a passageway with gates) is said to have been founded by Numa; cf. Liv. I. 19. 2 f. Its gates were open in war, closed in peace. Its exact location has not been determined, but it stood somewhere on the north side of the Forum near the Curia, according to Livy's *ad infimum Argiletum*, Dio (LXXIII. 13. 3) and other ancient authorities. See Platner, *Anc. Rome*², 190 ff., where a representation of the temple of the two-faced god may be seen. **semel atque iterum**: = *bis omnino* of *M. A.* XIII. 2. 44; see page 61, line 30, for the same phrase. In Flor. II. 34. 64, *Ianum geminum cludere bis ante se clusum*, *bis* takes the place of our author's phrase. *Semel atque iterum* sometimes means 'repeatedly'; cf. Cic., *de Div.* I. 25. 54, *Quod semel ille iterumque neglexit.* The two

former occasions on which it was closed were in the reign of Numa and in the consulship of T. Manlius Torquatus and C. Atilius Bulbus, 235 B.C., after the first Punic war; cf. Liv. I. 19. 2 f., Oros. IV. 12. 2 ff.

3. pace parta: the conditions of the closing of the gates of Janus are given in *M. A.* XIII. 2. 43 f.: *cum per totum imperium populi Romani terra marique esset parta victoriis pax;* cf. Liv. I. 19. 3, *pace terra marique parta.* The alliteration may here be intentional. **ter clusit**: (1) January 11, 29 B.C., voted by the senate after Antony's fall; cf. Dio LI. 20. 4; Oros. VI. 20. 8; *C. I. L.* I, page 384; (2) in 25 B.C. at the close of the campaign against the Asturians and Cantabrians, the war on account of which Janus had been opened; cf. Dio LIII. 26. 5; Oros. VI. 21. 11; (3) fixed by Orosius (VI. 22. 1) in 2 B.C.: *Itaque anno ab urbe condita DCCLII Caesar Augustus ab oriente in occidentem, a septentrione in meridiem ac per totum Oceani circulum cunctis gentibus una pace compositis Iani portas tertio ipse tunc clausit.* Dio records (LIV. 36. 2) a vote of the senate for a closing in 10 B.C., which was prevented by a fresh invasion of the Dacians into Pannonia. Mommsen concludes (*Res Gest.* 50 f.) that the third closing occurred between the close of the German wars of Drusus and Tiberius in 8 B.C. and the Armenian campaign of 1 B.C., discrediting the statement of Orosius quoted above. It is a significant fact that the birth of Christ falls within this reign of peace, 5 or 4 B.C. **Bis ovans**: in 40 B.C., when Octavian and Antony were reconciled and both were granted this honor, and in 36 B.C., following the defeat of Sextus Pompeius; see Dio XLVIII. 31. 2 f.; *C. I. L.* I, page 461, 714, for the first; Dio XLIX. 15. 1; *C. I. L.* I, page 461, 718, for the second. Mommsen (*Res Gest.* 19) thinks Dio is manifestly wrong when he ascribes (LIV. 8. 3) a third *ovatio* to the year 20 B.C.; cf. *M. A.* IV. 1.21, *Bis ovans triumphavi, tris egi curulis triumphos.* Cicero, it seems (*ad Brut.* I. 15. 9), moved an *ovatio* to Octavian upon his return from Mutina in 43 B.C. This is called a *triumphus* by Brutus; cf. Cic., *ad Brut.* I. 17. 2. But Appian (*B. C.* III. 80. 325 f., 82. 337 f.) not only does not state that Cicero had a hand in passing such a decree, but distinctly says that the young Octavian's request for such an honor was looked upon with disdain by the senate as beyond his years. **ovans**: the *ovatio* differed from the *triumphus* in that the general entered the city on foot or on horseback, as Augustus did (cf. *M. A.*, Gr., IV. 2. 9), not in the chariot; wore the ordinary *toga praetexta* of the magistrate, not the *toga picta* or *tunica palmata* of the triumph; was crowned with myrtle, not with laurel or gold; did not carry a sceptre; was not heralded by trumpeters, and was attended chiefly by plebeians and knights, not by senators. The cere-

mony of the *ovatio* was concluded by the sacrifice of a sheep, not of a bull. Special concessions might, however, be made. Thus Dio states (XLIX. 15. 1) that at the time the ovation of 36 B.C. was granted him Augustus had the privilege accorded him of wearing the laurel crown on all occasions. See Gell. V. 6. 1–7, 20–23; Serv. *ad Verg. Aen.* IV. 543.

4. **post Philippense**: sc. *primo;* also omitted in *Tib.* 48. 1. Cf. page 55, lines 7 ff., *bis conflictatus, primo . . . rursus;* page 62, lines 3 ff., *bis cogitavit: primum . . . ac rursus.* **post Siculum bellum**: Appian (*B. C.* V. 130. 541 f.) states that he also permitted a golden image wearing the garb of the *ovatio* to be set up in the Forum. This was to stand on a rostral column.

5. **Curulis . . . egit**: *he celebrated three triumphs in the chariot;* cf. *Tib.* 9. 2, *et ovans et curru urbem ingressus est*, where *curru* represents *curulis* of our passage. Of these two the Dalmatian occurred on August 13, the Egyptian on August 15, 29 B.C.; cf. *C. I. L.* I, page 478. 725. Livy (*Epit.* CXXXIII) and Dio (LI. 21. 7) agree with Suetonius in placing the triumph celebrating Actium between the other two. This would make it occur on August 14, 29 B.C. Servius (*ad Verg. Aen.* VIII. 714), however, places it on the first of these days, giving the other two in the order of the *tabulae Barberinianae* cited above. Cf. Verg., *Aen.* VIII. 714 f.: *At Caesar triplici invectus Romana triumpho moenia.* See note to page 68, line 16.

6. **Alexandrinum**: most splendid of them all, according to Dio (LI. 21. 7 f.). Cf *M. A.* IV. 1. 27 f.: *In triumphis meis ducti sunt ante currum meum reges aut regum liberi novem.* The senate voted Augustus many other triumphs, but he declined them; cf. *M. A.* IV. 1. 22 f., *Cum deinde pluris triumphos mihi senatus decrevisset, eis supersedi*, with Mommsen's note (*Res Gest.* 19) to the passage. **continuo triduo**: August 13, 14 and 15, 29 B.C. The *Fasti Antiatini* (*C. I. L.* X. 6638), cited by Ferrero (*Greatn. and Decl. of Rome*, IV, 120, note), seem to point decisively to August 14 as the day for the Actian triumph. See note to line 5, with the references there given. Cf. Propert. II. 1. 31 ff.

Chapter 23. Defeats of Lollius and Varus

7. **Graves ignominias**, etc.: *he suffered but two severe and ignominious defeats, and only in Germany;* the *clades* involved the *ignominias*. It is a striking fact that these defeats are not mentioned in the *Monumentum Ancyranum*.

8. **Lollianam**: sc. *cladem;* with *Varianam*, in partitive apposition to

ignominias cladesque. In 16 B.C. the Sigambri, Usipetes and Tencteri crossed the Rhine and plundered Roman Germany and Gaul. Their meeting with M. Lollius, while unexpected, resulted in his being put to rout and losing the eagle of the fifth legion; cf. Dio LIV. 20. 4 f.; Tac., *Ann.* I. 10. 3; Vell. II. 97. 1. M. Lollius, consul of 21 B.C., was so much in the confidence of Augustus that even the failure of his German campaign did not deter the emperor from sending him to the East in 2 B.C. as the companion and adviser of his grandson Gaius; cf. *Tib.* 12. 2; Vell. II. 102. 1. But he later incurred the enmity of Gaius and soon came to his death. Horace's panegyric (*Od.* IV. 9) may have been prompted by a desire to ward off hostile criticism such as later befell Lollius at the hands of Velleius (II. 97. 1). Velleius may have been prejudiced by Lollius's hostility to Tiberius. **Varianam**: in 6–4 B.C. P. Quintilius Varus had been imperial governor of Syria, *quam pauper divitem ingressus dives pauperem reliquit,* according to Velleius (II. 117. 2). Appointed to succeed Tiberius in Germany about 6 A.D., by his severe treatment of these high-spirited provincials he provoked a revolution under the patriot Arminius (Hermann). He was entrapped and suffered a disgraceful defeat, 9 A.D., in what Tacitus designates (*Ann.* I. 60. 5) as the *saltus Teutoburgiensis.* 'The scene of the disaster might be almost anywhere between the middle Weser and the Ems', Furneaux observes in his note on the Tacitus passage. But for the timely success of Tiberius in Pannonia and Dalmatia, it was generally believed, the victorious Germans would have formed a junction with the Pannonians; cf. *Tib.* 17. 1. See Dio LVI. 18. 3–22. 4; Vell. II. 117. 1–120. 6; Flor. II. 30. 30 ff.; Tac., *Ann.* I. 60. 1–62. 3, 71. 1 ff.; *Germ.* 37. 5.

10. paene exitiabilem, etc.: *almost fatal by reason of the slaughter,* etc. The three legions thus cut to pieces were the XVII, XVIII, XIX, which were not subsequently reconstituted; see Furneaux, *Ann. of Tac.*, Vol. I, Introd., page 122 and note 1. The eagles of these legions were recovered in the campaigns of Germanicus in 15, 16 and 17 A.D. See Tac., *Ann.* I. 60. 4, II. 25. 2, 41. 1; Dio LVII. 18. 1. In a recent monograph, *The Defeat of Varus and the German Frontier Policy of Augustus, Univ. of Ill. Bulletin,* XII. 42, W. A. Oldfather and H. V. Canter present striking arguments against the commonly accepted view of the significance of the defeat of Varus and argue that the policy of Augustus in Germany was to make a 'buffer' state out of the district between the Rhine and the Elbe, perhaps extend it even farther. **cum duce**: Dio (LVI. 21. 5) states that Varus and his most distinguished lieutenants committed suicide; cf. Vell. II. 119. 3.

11. **excubias . . . indixit**: *appointed patrols throughout the city;* properly 'day patrols' as distinguished from *vigiliae*, according to Servius (*ad Verg. Aen.* IX. 159); but see page 63, line 25, *excubias nocturnas vigilesque*. Cf. *Claud.* 10. 3, *inter excubias militum pernoctavit; Galb.* 10. 3, *excubiasque circa cubiculum suum vice militum agerent.* Augustus acted with promptness and decision and soon sent out another army under Tiberius despite the difficulty of raising recruits. He even dismissed from the city the German and Gallic soldiers residing in Rome or on the roster of the imperial guard. See Dio LVI. 23. 3 f.

12. **praesidibus provinciarum**: Suetonius often uses *praeses provinciae*, particularly, as here, of the governors of imperial provinces, *legati pro praetore;* cf. page 18, line 11; *Tib.* 32. 2; *Claud.* 17. 3; *Vesp.* 6. 4; *Dom.* 6. 2, etc. *Praesidibus* is a dative of reference.

13. **propagavit**: Suetonius several times uses *propagare* thus in the sense of *prorogare;* cf. *Ner.* 18; *Calig.* 29. 2. See page 11, line 29 and *Tib.* 30 for the more common *prorogare;* cf. Liv. XXIII. 25. 11, *C. Terentio consuli prorogari in annum imperium*, of a similar disaster. **a peritis et assuetis**: *by experienced men to whose methods they were accustomed.* Augustus from the first adopted the policy of retaining governors of imperial provinces in office for as much longer than a year as he saw fit; cf. Dio LIII. 13. 6. Tacitus (*Ann.* I. 80. 2) states that it was the policy of Tiberius sometimes to continue men in office to the end of their lives; cf. *Tib.* 41. Dio (LVIII. 23. 5) states that the ranks of the senate were so reduced in later years as to be the cause of prolonged tenures in all the provinces.

14. **Vovit . . . ludos**: in such *ludi votivi* the *ludi Magni* or *Romani*, extending (after Caesar's death) from September fourth to nineteenth, had their origin; cf. Liv. V. 19. 6, XXII. 9. 9 f. These games were especially connected with the cult of Jupiter; the *epulum Iovis* occurred on the Ides of September. See Fowler, *Rom. Fest.* 216 ff.

15. **si res p.**, etc.: *if the common weal should take a turn for the better. Vertisset* represents a future perfect indicative of *oratio recta.*

16. **quod factum**, etc.: a statement apparently found only here. **Cimbrico Marsicoque bello**: the reference is to the invasion of Italy by the Cimbri and Teutons, who were nearly exterminated in the two battles of Aquae Sextiae (modern Aix in Provence), 102 B.C., and the Raudine plain, near Vercellae (modern Vercelli), 101 B.C.; and to the Social War of 91–88 B.C., also called the Marsic War on account of the important part taken in it by the warlike Marsians who inhabited the basin of the Fucine lake.

18. summisso : *let grow;* so Caesar after the disaster of Titurius; cf. *Jul.* 67. 2; also, Luc. II. 375 f. For this use of the verb see *Calig.* 47; Tac., *Germ.* 31. 1; Plin., *Ep.* VII. 27. 14.

19. Quintili Vare, etc.: cf. Oros. VI. 21. 27. Dio (LVI. 23) merely follows certain authorities (ὥς τινές φασι) in stating that Augustus rent his clothing and was greatly distressed over his loss and by reason of the fear inspired by Gauls and Germans.

20. diemque cladis, etc.: *and observed the anniversary of the disaster each year as a day of sorrow and mourning.* The exact date is not stated, so far as we know.

Chapter 24. Instances of Military Discipline

21. In re militari, etc.: *in a military way he both made many changes and instituted many reforms.* Observe the medial position of *multa.* Among the principal changes may be mentioned those relating to (1) the number of legions, (2) the assignment of distinct commanders, *legati legionis*, to each legion, (3) the changed position of the *praefectus castrorum*, (4) the emperor's bodyguard, (5) the city cohorts and patrol. Taking these in order, (1) after Actium Augustus was left with upwards of fifty legions. Mommsen (*Res Gest.* 68–76) thinks this number was reduced to eighteen, but was raised to twenty-six at the time of the Pannonian uprising in 6 A.D. E. G. Hardy (*Journ. Phil.* XXIII. 29–44) argues for the number twenty-three as against Mommsen's eighteen. The number at the death of Augustus was twenty-five. Cf. Dio LV. 23. 1 ff. and see references cited by Mommsen. (2) *Legati legionis* were now put in command of separate legions and were distinct from the *legati* of the provinces. They served as deputies of the emperor, to whom the oath of allegiance (*sacramentum*) was now taken. They ranked as provincial vicegerents under the *legatus Augusti.* See Furneaux, *Ann. of Tacitus*, Vol. I, Introd., page 124. (3) Legions now generally had permanent *castra* in the provinces, so that the *praefectus castrorum* became an officer of some importance. (4) The *cohors praetoria* now came to be the regular bodyguard of the emperor and was stationed in the vicinity of Rome; cf. Dio LIII. 11. 5. (5) At first there were three *cohortes urbanae* under the command of the *praefectus urbi;* the number being later increased. The seven *cohortes vigilum*, instituted in 5 A.D., acted as a kind of police patrol and fire department and were recruited largely from the freedmen; see Dio LV. 26. 4 f. On these changes see Marquardt, *Röm. Staatsv.* II.[2] 443–459, 475–477, 481–487. For other changes see *Aug.* 49 and notes.

23. rexit: *maintained, exercised.*

24. gravate: *grudgingly, with reluctance.* **permisit . . . intervisere**: see Introd. II. § 9. *b.* (1).

26. causa detrectandi sacramenti: *with a view to their declining to take the oath of service.* It is unusual to find *causa* before the genitive. One other instance, from the *Vita Terenti*, is cited for Suetonius. See Introd. II. § 9. *c.* (3). **pollices amputasset**: men who thus shirked military service were sometimes called *murci;* cf. Amm. Marcell. XV. 12. 3. Such aversion from service marked the decay of the old Roman spirit as the armies came more and more to be mustered from the provinces.

27. ipsum bonaque, etc.: *sold at public auction his person and his property.* The spear, *hasta*, corresponded to the red flag now displayed at the place of auction; cf. Tac., *Hist.* I. 20, *Ubique hasta et sector;* Juv. III. 33, *Et praebere caput domina venale sub hasta.* The fuller expression is found on page 26, line 7, *ex auctionibus hastae.* The case in question probably occurred after the defeat of Varus, in 9 A.D.; cf. Dio LVI. 23. 3. A similar case was that of C. Vettienus, who cut off the fingers of his left hand to escape service in the Italic War and received the extreme punishment from the senate of having his goods confiscated and being, himself, consigned to life imprisonment; cf. Valer. Max. VI. 3. 3. **inminere emptioni publicanos**: *farmers of taxes were intent upon buying him.*

28. addixit: *declared sold, knocked down;* here an auction term; see page 26, line 7, *minimo addixit.*

29. relegatum in agros: *banished to the country districts. Relegatio in agros* was the mildest form of *relegatio*, which in itself denotes the milder form of banishment. See note to page 54, line 22. The various forms of banishment, to an island, to the country, to some particular city, are mentioned in Dio LV. 20. 5. **Decimam legionem**: there were two legions with this number: *X Gemina* and *X Fretensis*, the name of the latter being derived from its service at the Straits against Sextus Pompeius; see Momms., *Res Gest.* 69, n. 5. A *decima legio* was serving in Syria in 18 A.D. Dio mentions a *legio X Gemina* in his day as serving in Upper Pannonia and another *legio X* in Judaea; cf. Tac., *Ann.* II. 57. 2; Dio LV. 23. 4.

30. contumacius parentem: *because of their obstinate insubordination.* **cum ignominia totam dimisit**: there were three kinds of *missio*, or 'discharge from service': *honesta*, 'honorable discharge', upon the completion of the full term of service; *causaria*, a discharge for some physical disability; *ignominiosa*, 'dishonorable discharge' for miscon-

duct; cf. *Dig.* XLIX. 16. 13. What Furneaux calls a 'fictitious discharge' was instituted by Augustus, whereby soldiers were removed from the ranks of the legion to serve indefinitely as *vexillarii*, or *sub vexillo*, and yet were subjected to the same duties as the man in the ranks; see Tac., *Ann.* I. 17. 4, with Furneaux's note. Julius Caesar discharged the ninth legion 'in dishonor'; see *Jul.* 69. The phrase, *cum ignominia dimisit*, occurs again in *Calig.* 44. 1.

31. item: *likewise, in like manner;* after an enumeration, 'further'; often used by our author. Cf. page 4, line 19; page 19, line 31; page 47, line 28; page 55, line 25, etc. See Introd. II. § 6. *h.* (1).

32. citra commoda emeritorum praemiorum: *without the rewards* (*advantages in the way of stipend*) *accruing to those who had served their full time. Praemiorum* is an appositional or explanatory genitive with *commoda*, while *emeritorum* is the masculine participle used substantively; see Introd. II. § 4. *f.* and II. § 3. *a.* Cf. *Calig.* 44. 1, *commoda emeritae militiae; Galb.* 12. 2, *Germanorum cohortem . . . sine commodo ullo remisit in patriam.* See note to page 76, line 9. **citra**: *without*, in Silver Latin; cf. page 14, line 5, *citra . . . auctoritatem;* page 85, line 8, *citra honorem verborum; Claud.* 35. 2, *citra bellum;* Tac., *Agr.* 1. 3, *citra fidem aut obtrectationi.* See Introd. II. § 5. *g.* (2). **exauctoravit**: here used of dishonorable discharge; equivalent to *cum ignominia . . . dimisit* in line 30, above. *Exauctoratio* was not necessarily dishonorable and might not be a complete *missio;* cf. Tac., *Ann.* I. 36. 4, *missionem dari vicena stipendia meritis, exauctorari qui sena dena fecissent ac retineri sub vexillo ceterorum inmunes nisi propulsandi hostis*, and see Furneaux's note on the passage. The formula of dismissal is found in Lampridius (*Alex. Sev.* 54. 3): *Quirites, discedite atque arma deponite.*

Page 59. 1. Cohortes . . . loco: *whatever cohorts had yielded ground; i.e.* in battle. The mood of *cessissent* is explained in Introd. II. § 8. *h.* **decimatas hordeo pavit**: *he fed on* (*rations of*) *barley after having every tenth man executed.* Those who were to die were selected by lot; cf. Tac., *Ann.* III. 21. 1, *raro ea tempestate et e vetere memoria facinore decumum quemque ignominiosae cohortis sorte ductos fusti necat.* Such *decimatio* is mentioned as early as 471 B.C.; cf. Liv. II. 59. 11; Dion. Hal., *Ant. Rom.* IX. 50. 7. The punishment of serving barley instead of the usual rations of wheat was also very ancient; cf. Liv. XXVII. 13. 9, *Cohortibus quae signa amiserant hordeum dari iussit.* These punishments were meted out by Antony to his soldiers in the

Parthian campaign of 36 B.C., and, apparently, by Augustus to deserters of the standards in the Dalmatian campaign of 34 B.C.; cf. Dio XLIX. 27. 1, 38. 4.

2. **statione deserta**: *left their posts; i.e.* when on guard duty. *Statio* is elsewhere used of the soldiers composing the guard, as on page 65, line 18, and in *Tib.* 24. 1, 37. 1, 72. 1; of the time of the watch, as in *Oth.* 6. 1; of the quarters, as in *Ner.* 37. 1; of station, office, as in *Claud.* 38. 3.

3. **puniit**: the punishment here meant was, probably, the *fustuarium*, in which the victim ran the gauntlet and was cudgelled to death by his comrades; cf. Cic., *Phil.* III. 6. 14, *fustuarium meruerunt legiones quae consulem reliquerunt;* Tac., *Ann.* III. 21. 1, quoted in note to line 1, above. See Marq., *Röm. Staatsv.* II^2. 573.

4. **variis ignominiis adfecit**: *imposed a variety of humiliating penalties.*

5. **praetorium**: in the center of the camp, where stood the general's tent, *tabernaculum ducis* (Tac., *Ann.* I. 29. 4), and so a place where the culprit would be most conspicuous. The word is also applied to the emperor's bodyguard; cf. *Ner.* 9, 47. 1. For a different meaning of the word see note to page 89, line 15. **tunicatos discinctosque**: *clad only in their tunics and without their sword-belts; i.e.* not wearing the military cloak, *sagum,* nor the belts with which the *saga* were fastened. These omissions were also means of the outward expression of grief; cf. *Aug.* 100. 4. We may compare our custom of depriving non-commissioned officers of their stripes, thus reducing them in rank.

6. **cum decempedis**, etc.: carrying the measuring pole or turf for the ramparts was the work of common soldiers and, therefore, degrading for officers.

Chapter 25. Soldiery of Augustus. Military Prizes. Favorite Sayings

7. **Neque post bella**, etc.: in contradistinction to the practice of Julius Caesar; cf. *Jul.* 67. 2. Compare Galba's pathetic appeal at the time of his assassination, in *Galb.* 20. 1: *Quid agitis, commilitones? Ego vester sum et vos mei.*

8. **ne a filiis quidem**, etc.: a prohibition, Merivale suggests, in which there was some jealousy as well as pride; *Hist. of Rom.* IV^4. 50.

9. **filiis**: Gaius and Lucius, sons by adoption, grandsons by Julia and Agrippa; see *Aug.* 64. 1. **privignis**: Tiberius and Drusus, sons of

Livia Drusilla by Tiberius Nero; cf. *Aug.* 62. 2. **imperio praeditis**: *possessed of military command.*

10. ambitiosius id existimans, etc.: *thinking it too great a condescension to be consistent with the requirements of military discipline or the quietude of the times or his own dignity and that of his household.* *Ambitiosius* means 'smacking too much of a desire to win popular favor', and so 'too condescending'; cf. page 70, line 30, *salubrem magis quam ambitiosum principem; Dom.* 8. 1, *ambitiosas centumvirorum sententias rescidit.*

12. Libertino milite: *freedmen as soldiers; milite* being used in a collective sense: see Introd. II. § 2. *b.* This statement, of course, is exclusive of the use of *cohortes vigilum* in the city on special occasions. Service in the army, while originally confined to the citizen class, was opened to freedmen or slaves manumitted on the occasion of a great disaster, as after Cannae; cf. Liv. XXII. 57. 11. The practice was frequent during the Civil Wars; cf. App., *B.C.* V. 131. 544 f. But the emergencies for which Augustus used them were during the Pannonian revolt of 6 A.D. and after the disaster of Varus in 9 A.D.; cf. Dio LV. 31. 1; LVI. 23. 3. **praeterquam Romae**, etc.: note the change from the ablative, *causa*, to the conditional clause, *si . . . metueretur;* see Introd. II. § 10. *a.* For the provisions against fire at Rome see note to page 63, line 25.

13. in graviore annona: *in the event of too stringent a grain market.*

15. coloniarum, etc.: such as Aquileia and Concordia and towns along the river Arsia, modern Arsa, which separated Italy from Illyricum.

16. servos adhuc, etc.: *levied, while still slaves, upon men and women of greater wealth;* cf. *Ner.* 44. 1, *certum dominis servorum numerum indixit.* These slaves were no sooner recruited than manumitted.

18. sub priore vexillo habuit: *kept under their original standard; i.e.* apart from the others, in the unit in which they were previously enrolled. *Vexillum* here = *cohors.* Macrobius (*Sat.* I. 11. 32) confirms the statement that Augustus created new bodies of *libertini.* **neque aut commixtos**, etc.: these auxiliary troops would be light-armed, *leves*, and carry the long swords, *spathae*, and the lances, *hastae*, instead of the regular *gladii* and *pila* of the legionaries. See Marq., *Röm. Staatsv.* II². 470 and note 1.

20. Dona militaria: *as rewards for military distinction;* in apposition with *phaleras*, etc. **phaleras et torques**: the *phalerae* were disks of bronze to which were fastened thin plates of metal bearing some relief; 'trappings'. As awards of merit they were worn on leather belts

across the breast. They were later superseded by gold and silver medallions. The *torques* were silver or gold necklaces or collars of twisted work. Often *dona militaria* included *armillae*, *phalerae* and *torques* without further designation; cf. Juv. XVI. 58 ff. See Marq., *Röm. Staatsv.* II². 574–579.

21. quicquid auro, etc.: *whatever consisted of gold and silver;* still further generalizing *phaleras et torques.* **vallares ac murales coronas**: crowns of gold awarded, respectively, to those who were first to mount the rampart of a beleaguered camp or scale the walls of a hostile city. There were various other *coronae*, which are distinguished by Gellius (V. 6). The *corona muralis* was decorated with ornaments resembling the battlements of a city, *quasi muri pinnis*, while the *corona vallaris*, or *castrensis*, bore the ornamentation of a *vallum;* cf. Gell. V. 6. 16 f. See Marq., *Röm. Staatsv.* II². 576–578.

23. caligatis: *common soldiers;* = *gregarii:* cf. *Vitell.* 7. 3, *caligatorum . . . militum.* The *caliga*, or heavy shoe studded with hobnails and composed of numerous straps, was worn by no one in the army above the rank of a centurion. Thus *a caliga* came to mean 'from the ranks'. Cf. Juv. III. 248; Sen., *de Benef.* V. 16. 2. The pet name 'Caligula' was given to the young Gaius Caesar while in his father's camp *quia manipulario habitu inter milites educabatur;* cf. *Calig.* 9; Tac., *Ann.* I. 41. 3. See Smith, *Dict. of Antiq.* *s.v.* *caliga;* Becker-Göll, *Gallus* III². 235.

24. M. Agrippam, etc.: see note to page 54, line 1.

25. caeruleo vexillo: *a dark blue banner* or *pennant;* of the marine blue color as typifying naval supremacy. Dio (LI. 21. 3) states that this honor was accorded to Agrippa after Actium. Livy (*Epit.* CXXIX), Pliny (*N. H.* XVI. 7. 4) and Servius (*ad Verg. Aen.* VIII. 684) agree that the honor was a *corona rostrata.* Livy, Velleius (II. 81. 3) and Dio (XLIX. 14. 3) are agreed in thinking this decoration was given to no one else, while Pliny thinks that M. Varro received it from Pompey the Great after the war with the pirates. On *vexilla* as rewards see Marq., *Röm. Staatsv.* II². 574 and note 7. **triumphales**: *men who had celebrated triumphs;* see Introd. II. § 3. *b.*

26. quamquam et socios, etc.: see Introd. II. § 6. *m.*

27. donis impertiendos: *should be made to participate in the awards;* cf. *Claud.* 4. 7, *honore impertitum; Ner.* 37. 3, *quemquam osculo impertiit.* **quod . . . habuissent**, etc.: the cause is in the mind of Augustus; hence the mood of the verbs.

30. itaque: postpositive; see Introd. II. § 6. *g.*

31. illa iactabat: *he would pronounce those familiar maxims.* **Σπεῦδε βραδέως**: *festina lente; make haste slowly.* Gellius states (X. 11. 5) that Augustus in his frequent use of this maxim *monebat ut ad rem agendam simul adhiberetur et industriae celeritas et diligentiae tarditas.*

32. ἀσφαλὴς γάρ, etc.: *for better is a safe commander than a bold one;* Eur., *Phoen.* 599, a trochaic tetrameter catalectic.

Page 60. 1. sat celeriter, etc.: note the shorter *sat* before the polysyllable, the longer *satis* before the dissyllable. Compare Cato's saying, *Sat cito si sat bene*, in Hier., *Ep.* 66. n. 9.

4. minima commoda, etc.: *persons who grasped at very slight profits at no very slight risk;* paronomasia and litotes. For the latter see Introd. II. § 10. *k.*

6. aureo hamo piscantibus: a favorite simile, perhaps, because Augustus himself did not despise the angler's art; see *Aug.* 83.

7 captura: *catch; = praeda capta:* abstract for concrete. See Introd. II. § 2. *a.* **pensari**: = *compensari;* cf. Tac., *Hist.* III, 26: *omnisque caedes et vulnera et sanguis aviditate praedae pensabantur.*

Chapter 26. Thirteen Consulships

8. ante tempus: before the usual time, the age at which he might regularly and legally assume such offices. The age limits fixed for candidates for the more important offices by the *lex Villia annalis* of 180 B.C. and by legislation of the year 81 B.C. are not definitely known. But the minimum ages for the offices of quaestor, praetor and consul after Sulla's time were probably 31, 40 and 43 years, respectively. After 30 B.C., however, the ages were settled for the quaestorship at 25, the plebeian tribunate or the aedileship at 27, the praetorship at 30, the consulship at 33. Augustus held four consulships, therefore, while he was still under the legal age. But the senate might make special dispensations in accordance with such decrees as that proposed by Cicero (*Phil.* V. 17. 46) on January 1, 43 B.C.: *ob eas causas senatui placere C. Caesarem Caii filium pontificem, pro praetore, senatorem esse sententiamque loco praetorio dicere; eiusque rationem, quemcumque magistratum petet, ita haberi, ut haberi per leges liceret, si anno superiore quaestor fuisset.* Augustus had been elected to the pontificate after Pharsalus, 48 B.C., and became *triumvir rei publicae constituendae* at the close of 43 B.C. See Abbott, *Rom. Polit. Inst.*[2], §§ 173 and 461. **quosdam novi generis**, etc.: such as the new tribunician power and the proconsular *imperium* conferred upon

him, together with what was involved in the connotation of the title, *princeps;* see note to page 62, line 1. Despite the claim of Augustus that he had precedence only in dignity, not in actual power, this held true only with respect to the forms that he so sedulously observed; cf. *M.A.* XXXIV. 6. 21 ff.: *Post id tempus praestiti omnibus dignitate, potestatis autem nihilo amplius habui quam qui fuerunt mihi quoque in magistratu conlegae.* See Abbott, *Rom. Polit. Inst.*[2], §§ 323–326; Haverfield, *Essays by Henry Francis Pelham*, IV, pages 49 ff. It seems that the consulship was offered him for life, in 22 B.C., but was declined by him; cf. *M.A.* V. 1. 35 f., *Consulatum tum datum annuum et perpetuum non accepi.*

9. **Consulatum . . . invasit**: *usurped the consulship;* cf. page 4, line 20, *dictaturam Crassus invaderet.* This was on August 19, 43 B.C., four months after the death of Hirtius and Pansa at Mutina; cf. *C.I.L.* I, page 400, X. 8375, and see note to page 51, line 10. Meanwhile the senate had been confronted with the technical difficulty of lacking a dictator or consul to hold the *comitia.* When it refused to listen to Octavian's embassy, he marched on the city and his election and that of his cousin, Quintus Pedius, followed. According to Dio, Appian and Plutarch, Octavian urged Cicero to become his colleague at this time, outrageously hoodwinking the old statesman. But the senate would have none of Cicero's suggestions, with the result noted. See Dio XLVI. 42. 2–46. 5; App., *B. C.* III. 82. 337 ff., 94. 386 ff.; Plut., *Cic.* XLV f.

10. **admotis hostiliter**, etc.: Appian puts the number of legions crossing the Rubicon with Octavian at eight besides an adequate number of cavalry and auxiliary troops. With the better part of two divisions he marched on Rome and finally took a position in the Campus Martius; cf. App., *B. C.* III. 88. 364 ff., 94. 386 ff.; Dio XLVI. 45. 2 ff.

11. **missisque qui sibi**, etc.: Dio (XLVI. 42. 4) gives the number of the soldiers themselves as four hundred.

12. **Cornelius centurio**: we read of another centurion of this name in *The Acts of the Apostles*, X. 1 ff.

13. **sagulo**: diminutive for *sago;* cf. Liv. VII. 34. 15, *sagulo gregali amictus.* See Introd. II. § 1. *e.* **ostendens gladii**, etc.: Dio (XLVI. 43. 4) states that they had not worn their arms into the senate chamber, but this occurred after the ambassador had left it. He quotes Cicero as saying, 'If this is the way you make your claims, he will get it'; meaning the consulship. Plutarch relates a similar story of the emissaries of Julius Caesar in 50 B.C.; cf. Plut., *Caes.* XXIX, *Pomp.* LVIII.

14. Hic faciet, etc. : *this will make* (*him consul*), *if you do not.*

15. Secundum consulatum, etc. : his second consulship was in 33 B.C., with Lucius Volcacius Tullus as his colleague; the third was in 31 B.C., with Valerius Messala in the place made vacant by the deposition of Antony, who was to have held the office this year: see Dio XLIX. 43. 6, L. 10. 1.

16. sequentis usque, etc. : from 30 B.C. to 23 B.C.; but the first one and the last two of them for only a few months each. Mommsen (*Röm. Staatsr.* II^3. 870, with note 2) thinks it is an error to represent several of these as held for only parts of the year.

17. continuavit : *held without interruption;* cf. *Ner.* 14, *medios duos continuavit; Dom.* 13. 3, *septem medios continuavit.* **multisque . . . recusatis** : *e.g.* for the years 21 and 19 B.C.; cf. Dio LIV. 6. 2, 10. 1; Vell., II. 89. 5. In the latter year, according to Dio (LIV. 10. 5), Augustus received the consular power for life; but this is not borne out by Augustus himself in the *Monumentum Ancyranum* and by other authorities: cf. *M.A.* XXXIV. 6. 21 ff. and see Momms., *Röm. Staatsr.* II^3. 871.

18. duodecimum magno, etc. · in 5 and 2 B.C. Cf. Stat., *Silv.* IV. 1. 31 f. :

> *Ter Latios deciesque tulit, labentibus annis,*
> *Augustus fasces.*

20. C. et Lucium filios : see notes to page 82, line 26. **amplissimo praeditus magistratu** : *invested with the highest office of state.*

21. suo quemque tirocinio, etc. : *might escort each to the Forum when he entered upon man's estate; i.e.* at the assumption of the pure white *toga virilis.* The *tiro* would then be conducted by his friends in state to the Forum, so that the expressions varied between *tirocinium* (*fori*) and *deductio fori;* cf. *Ner.* 7. 2, *Deductus in forum tiro; M.A.* XIV. 3. 3 f.: *Et ex eo die, quo deducti sunt in forum, ut interessent consiliis publicis decrevit senatus.* This was the formal introduction to public life. In the case of both Gaius and Lucius this occurred at the age of fifteen years. **quemque** : *utrumque* would be more usual; cf. *Tib.* 54. 1, *diemque utriusque tirocinii.*

22. annuos : $=$ *per totum annum.* These consulships were held from 28 B.C. to 24 B.C., inclusive.

24. secundum : Octavian resigned the office in 33 B.C. soon after entering upon it, as Antony had done the preceding year; see Dio XLIX. 43. 6 f., 39. 1. **paucissimis horis** : here used, as is *mensibus* in the preceding line, to express duration of time; an increasingly frequent construction in post-Augustan writers. In fact, Gudeman (Tac., *Agric.*

and Germ., page 222) speaks of 'the accusative of time' as 'a usage unknown to Tacitus'. See Introd. II. § 4. *q*. In *paucissimis* is to be noted an instance of the so-called 'absolute superlative'; see Lane, *Lat. Gram.*[2], 1467. **die Kal. Ian.**: *i.e. die Kalendarum Ianuariarum.*

25. pro aede Capitolini Iovis: on his inaugural day the consul first consulted the auspices and was then attended in procession to the temple of Jupiter on the Capitoline, where a sacrifice was offered and other rites performed. Livy (XXI. 63. 7–10) enumerates the formalities of such an inauguration which C. Flaminius entirely disregarded. **curuli sella**: the *sella*, it seems, was originally borne in the chariot (*currus*) of the higher magistrates. Gellius (III. 18. 4) quotes Gavius Bassus on *sella curulis: Senatores enim dicit in veterum aetate qui curulem magistratum gessissent curru solitos honoris gratia in curiam vehi, in quo curru sella esset super quam considerent, quae ob eam causam 'curulis' appellaretur; sed eos senatores qui magistratum curulem nondum ceperant pedibus itavisse in curiam: propterea senatores nondum maioribus honoribus 'pedarios' nominatos.* See Smith, *Dict. of Antiq. s. v. sella*, page 619.

26. praesedisset: also used without a following dative on page 67, line 8, *praesedisse;* cf. *Tib.* 6. 4, *Praesedit et asticis ludis.* **honore abiit**: *resigned the honor, retired from the office;* cf. page 9, line 16, *potestate abiret; Ner.* 2. 2, *abeuntem consulatu.* **suffecto alio**, etc.: *appointing another to take his place;* namely, Publius Autronius Paetus; cf. App., *Illyr.* 28. The other consul of 33 B.C. was Lucius Tullus; cf. Dio XLIX. 43. 6. Under the empire it was possible, through the shortening of the consul's term of office, to bestow the office on many more than in republican times. The years were designated by the first pair of consuls, the *consules ordinarii.* Those appointed to fill out the terms of others were called *consules suffecti.* Cf. page 40, line 14, *suffecto trimenstrique consule; Claud.* 14, *in locum demortui suffectus.*

27. quartum consulatum, etc.: in 30 and 29 B.C. After Actium, 31 B.C., Octavian was absent from Rome until the summer of 29 B.C. The second winter was spent at Samos. His colleague in 30 B.C. was M. Licinius Crassus; in 29 B.C., first Sextus Apuleius and then Valerius Potitus. A precedent for such inaugurations had been set by C. Flaminius, consul of 217 B.C.; see Liv. XXI. 63. 1 ff. Cf. Dio LI. 4. 3, 20. 1, 21. 1.

28. octavum et nonum: in 26 and 25 B.C., within the period of the Cantabrian War. Octavian intended to cross to Britain in 27 B.C., but went, instead, from Gaul into Spain. His colleague in 26 B.C. was Statilius Taurus. In 25 B.C. he became consul for the ninth time, with Marcus Silanus as his colleague. Cf. Dio LIII. 23. 1, 25. 1 ff. See note to page 49, line 25.

Chapter 27. Conduct as Triumvir in the Proscriptions. Tribunician and Censorial Powers

30. Triumviratum rei p., etc.: *for ten years he held the office of triumvir for restoring the state to order;* cf. *M. A.*, Gr., VII. 4. 1 f., for the same statement from Augustus himself. The triumvir's first term of five years, formally enacted by the *lex Titia* of November 27, 43 B.C., expired on December 31, 38 B.C. By the treaty of Tarentum, in 37 B.C., the triumvirate was renewed for a second term of five years, but without legal enactment. During the intervening months the triumvirs had not laid down their office. See notes to page 52, line 3, and page 54, line 24.

31. restitit quidem, etc.: *for some time opposed his colleagues' making any proscription.*

32. sed inceptam, etc.: Appian (*B.C.* IV. 6. 21, 7. 28) states that the first list contained either twelve or seventeen names of prominent men, among them Cicero's. When the triumvirs arrived in Rome, however, and the *lex Titia* of November 27 was passed, a new edict in many parts of the city announced the triumvirs' resolve to put to death all who had participated in the murder of Julius Caesar or approved it, or continued to oppose them; cf. App., *B. C.* IV. 7. 27–11. 44. Livy (*Epit.* CXX) gives the number of proscribed as *plurimi equites Romani, centum triginta senatorum nomina*, while Appian (*B. C.* IV. 5. 20) puts the number at about three hundred senators and two thousand knights. Velleius (II. 66. 1), naturally, puts the blame on the other two, *repugnante Caesare sed frustra adversus duos.* Plutarch (*Ant.* XXI) also assigns most blame to Antony 'because he was older than Caesar and possessed greater power than Lepidus'. Dio (XLVII. 7. 2 ff.) exculpates Octavian, on the ground of his youth, from having incurred many enmities and relates instances of his having saved certain of those who were proscribed. Appian draws no distinctions in the matter of their guilt.

Page 61. **1. illis in multorum**, etc.: *while they could often be prevailed upon through influence and entreaties to consider the personality of many men, he alone stoutly insisted that none should be spared.*

3. C. Toranium: C. Thoranius, or Toranius, was probably the quaestor of Varinius during the revolt of Spartacus; see Tyrrell and Purser, *Corresp. of Cic.*, V. 46, and note. He is, of course, to be distinguished from the slave-dealer of page 86, line 19. After having been aedile as colleague of Octavian's father, he obtained the office of praetor. As guardian of the young Octavius, he may have been guilty of plundering

his property, as Nicolas of Damascus (*Vit. Aug.* 2) states. He was living in exile in Corcyra in 45 B.C.; see Cic., *ad Fam.* VI. 20 and 21, letters addressed to him by Cicero at the time. He was betrayed by his son to Antony, and Octavian apparently consented to his execution. See App., *B. C.* IV. 12. 47; Valer. Max. IX. 11. 5; Oros. VI. 18. 9.

4. **in aedilitate**: modifies *collegam;* Introd. II. § 5. *t.*

5. **Iulius Saturninus**: nothing further is known of him or his work. See note to page 51, line 21.

6. **in senatu**: probably, when Lepidus delivered the inaugural address of his second consulship on January 1, 42 B.C. The second proscription list, published during this year, imposed a heavy tax upon the property of the party of the opposition, but did not involve loss of life. See Dio XLVII. 16. 1 ff.

8. **e diverso**: see Introd. II. § 5. *j.* (2).

9. **ita modum se proscribendi**, etc.: *he had agreed to an ending of the proscription only with the understanding that he left himself an entirely free hand for the future;* see Introd. II. § 8. *m.* Many of the assassins of Julius had escaped to Brutus or Sextus Pompeius or elsewhere and Octavian had no thought of allowing them permanently to go unscathed.

11. **Philopoemenem**: Dio (XLVII. 7. 4 f.) relates the story of the concealment of T. Vinius by his wife in a chest at the house of a freedman. Vinius was later presented to Octavian, when alone, through the good offices of Octavia. The story goes that all three were pardoned and Philopoemen was made a knight: 'for, in fact, death had been proclaimed against those who were accomplices in any one's concealment'. Appian (*B. C.* IV. 11. 42 ff.) gives the decree concerning such cases. Dio (XLVII. 8. 1) adds that Octavian saved as many as he could, but he gives no other concrete instances.

14. **multiplici flagravit invidia**: *suffered from widespread unpopularity;* cf. page 27, line 7, *flagrasse infamia; Tib.* 44. 1, *Maiore adhuc ac turpiore infamia flagravit.* **Pinarium**: possibly, T. Pinarius, a great friend of Cicero, of whom the orator writes (*ad Q. Fr.* III. 1. 22): *Is homo semper me delectavit;* cf. Cic., *ad Att.* VI. 1. 23, VIII. 15. 1, *ad Fam.* XII. 24. 3. Certain of the Pinarii were connected with the Caesars; see note to page 43, line 8.

15. **turba paganorum**: *a throng of civilians*, as opposed to *milites;* cf. Plin., *Ep.* X. 86 B., *et milites et pagani;* Tac., *Hist.* III. 24, where Antonius Primus taunts his soldiers with *vos, nisi vincitis, pagani; Galb.* 19. 2, *dimota paganorum turba.* See also Juv. XVI. 32 ff.; Plin., *Ep.* VII. 25. 6; Tac., *Hist.* I. 53, II. 14, 88, III. 43, 77, IV. 20; *Dig.* XXIX.

1. 3, XLVIII. 19. 14. These passages go to show that *pagani* is regularly used as equivalent to *togati*, and so opposed to *armati*, *caligati*, or *sagati*. H. T. Peck, in a note on this passage, therefore concludes that our word 'pagan' 'was first applied by the Christians to those who refused the *sacramentum*, and hence were metaphorically *pagani* or *togati*', as against the popularly accepted explanation of the word's origin in the 'fact that the dwellers in the rural districts (*pagi*) were the last to abandon the heathen rites and to receive Christianity'.

16. subscribere quaedam: *was making some notes.* The verb is rare in this sense, of *notare;* cf. Cic., *Verr.* II. 3. 51. § 120; Quint., *Inst.* XII. 8. 8; Tac., *Agr.* 45. 2, *cum suspiria nostra subscriberentur.* **curiosum ac speculatorem**: *an eavesdropper and a spy. Curiosus*, as noun, seems to occur only here in the sense of a 'Paul Pry'; see Introd. II. § 1. *b.* Later, *curiosi* were 'secret police', 'informers': cf. Cod. Just. 12, *tit.* 22, *De Curiosis* (*et Stationariis*). From its connotation of a 'scout' attached to a legion, *speculator* might readily take on the meaning of 'spy' as here used. Under the emperors the word came to be used of special adjutants and, eventually, of members of the emperor's bodyguard; see page 90, line 6, *qui speculator suus olim fuisset; Claud.* 35. 1, *neque convivia inire ausus est nisi ut speculatores cum lanceis circumstarent; Galb.* 18. 1, *ac descendentem speculator impulsu turbae lancea prope vulneravit.*

17. confodi imperavit: see Introd. II. § 9. *b.* (1).

18. Tedium Afrum: otherwise unknown. Shuckburgh, in a note on this passage, suggests that he may be connected with a friend of Augustus whose name may have been Tedius; cf. Tac., *Ann.* I, 10. 4, with Furneaux's note.

20. se praecipitaverit: *hurled himself headlong; i.e.* 'committed suicide' by leaping from the height of the Tarpeian Rock or throwing himself into the Tiber: cf. page 85, lines 25 ff.; *Tib.* 62. 2, *damnatos . . . praecipitari coram se in mare iubebat; Calig.* 27. 2, *quoad praecipitaretur ex aggere; Ner.* 47.3, *procurritque quasi praecipitaturus se in Tiberim.* **Quintum Gallium**: son of the Quintus Gallius accused of *ambitus* by M. Calidius and defended by Cicero; cf. Cic., *Brut.* 80. 277, *de Pet. Cons.* 5, 19. His brother was the M. Gallius who adopted Tiberius in his will; cf. *Tib.* 6. 3. He was praetor in the year 43 B.C.

21. in officio salutationis: *on a ceremonial visit to pay his respects,* when he paid court to the emperor at his morning levee; cf. page 78, line 8, *Promiscuis salutationibus admittebat et plebem; Tib.* 32, 2, *hunc Romae salutandi sui causa pro foribus adstantem;* Hor., *Sat.* I. 6. 101.

salutandi plures. The client's morning *salutatio* of republican times became a court function under the emperors. For *officium* in this connection see page 7, line 7, *relicto statim novorum consulum officio;* page 35, line 17, *inter officia prosequentium;* page 81, line 16, *cotidiana officia; Tib.* 12. 2, *vitansque praeternavigantium officia.* **tabellas duplices**: *folded tablets,* whether letter or petition. They were wooden tablets, waxed on the enclosed sides and called *duplices, triplices,* etc., according to the number of leaves they contained. On the thin layers of wax the characters were scratched by means of the point of the metal or ivory *stilus.* They could be effaced with the blunt end of the instrument. Compare, with Shuckburgh, Ov., *Rem. Am.* 667, *duplices cecidere tabellae;* Mart. VII. 53. 3, *Bis senos triplices;* X. 87. 6, *vani triplices.*

23. statim: see Introd. II. § 1. *f.*

24. raptum e tribunali: *hustled away from the tribunal, i.e.* the judgment seat on which the emperor sat as praetor; cf. Liv. XXIII. 32. 4, *Praetores quorum iuris dictio erat tribunalia ad Piscinam publicam posuerunt.* See note to page 73, line 19. **servilem in modum**: in republican times freemen were never put to the torture; but under the emperors even free persons were tortured to extract evidence from them in cases of *maiestas.* While this indignity was mainly confined to persons of humbler station, we read of even Roman senators and knights being subjected to it. See Smith, *Dict. of Antiq. s. v. tormentum.*

25. oculis . . . effossis: the story is quite incredible. Valerius Maximus (IX. 2. 1) tells of a similar enormity committed by Sulla.

26. scribit: in his Memoirs, no doubt. Appian's account (*B. C.* III. 95. 394 f.) substantially agrees with that of Augustus. **conloquio petito**: *when he had asked for an audience;* with the emperor, of course.

28. urbe interdicta: *interdicere* is thus used in the passive in *Calig.* 25. 2, *interdicto . . . coitu; Vesp.* 14, *interdicta aula.*

29. Tribuniciam potestatem, etc.: a tribunician power, in some form, was first conferred on Augustus in 36 B.C. after the defeat of Sextus Pompeius off Naulochus. Appian (*B. C.* V. 132. 548 f.) is followed by Orosius (VI. 18. 34) in stating that he now received the *tribunicia potestas* for life. Dio (LIII. 32. 5 f.) refers this to the year 23 B.C., but allows him the sacrosanctity and seat of a tribune in 36 B.C. and the power itself in 30 B.C.; cf. Dio XLIX. 15. 6, LI. 19. 6. But Mommsen (*Res Gest.* 44 f.) holds that the extension recorded by Dio for 30 B.C. applied only to its extension outside the pomoerium. On July 1, 23 B.C., Augustus laid down his eleventh consulship, and increased emphasis was

laid on the tribunician power, from this time assumed as titular and reckoned annually from June 27; cf. Tac., *Ann.* I. 9. 2, *continuata per septem et triginta annos tribunicia potestas*, *i.e.* from 23 B.C. to the time of his death. Augustus himself states (*M. A.* IV. 1. 28 ff.): *Consul fueram terdeciens cum scribebam haec et agebam septimum et trigensimum annum tribuniciae potestatis.* Thus was accomplished what Tacitus states (*Ann.* III. 56. 2): *Id summi fastigii vocabulum Augustus repperit, ne regis aut dictatoris nomen adsumeret ac tamen appellatione aliqua cetera imperia praemineret.* See Furneaux, *Annals of Tacitus*, I, pages 76, 79, 83 ff.

30. semel atque iterum: see note to page 58, line 1. **per singula lustra**: *for periods of five years each.* This derived meaning of *lustrum* had its origin in the fact that the purification of the entire Roman people occurred at the close of each census, which was regularly taken every five years during republican times. The last *lustrum* in this sense was held by Vespasian and Titus in 74 A.D. **collegam sibi cooptavit**: Augustus chose Agrippa as his colleague in the office for five years in 18 B.C.; see Dio LIV. 12. 4. According to Dio (LIV. 28. 1 f.), this honor was renewed in Agrippa's case for a second period of five years, but Agrippa died the following year, 12 B.C. In 6 B.C. Augustus made Tiberius his colleague for five years; see Dio LV. 9. 4; *Tib.* 9. 3, 11. 3. In 4 A.D., following the deaths of Gaius and Lucius, Dio (LV. 13. 2) says Tiberius received the power for ten years, but Suetonius (*Tib.* 16. 1) says it was *in quinquennium.* In 13 A.D. Tiberius apparently received the power for a third time; cf. Dio LVI. 28. 1. Augustus states (*M. A.*, Gr., VI. 3. 19 ff.) that in the exercise of this power 'he himself five times asked for a colleague and received one from the senate'.

31. Recepit et morum, etc.: *he also accepted the regulation of morals and of the laws in like manner* (as the *tribunicia potestas*) *for all time.* Such censorial power was first offered Augustus in 19 B.C. On the testimony of our passage and of Dio LIV. 10. 5, 30. 1, it is generally assumed that he was appointed at first for five-year terms and then permanently 'supervisor and corrector of morals' (ἐπιμελητὴς τε καὶ ἐπανορθωτὴς τῶν τρόπων). But his own words in the *Monumentum Ancyranum* (Gr., VI. 3. 11–21) may point the other way. After stating that this office was offered him in 19 B.C., 18 B.C. and 11 B.C., he adds (Gr., VI. 3. 17 ff.): 'I took upon myself no office that was offered me in contravention of the customs of my ancestors, but by virtue of my *tribunicia potestas* I performed whatever the senate would have regulated through me at that time.' He undertook the actual duties, therefore, by right

of his *tribunicia potestas* and with *imperium consulare;* cf. *M. A.* VIII. 2. 2 ff. Censorial power, it will be recalled, was inherent in the consular office before the censorship existed as a distinct office. Augustus, apparently, never assumed either general or permanent consular power, but used the powers of consul only in so far as he exercised censorial power. The extraordinary powers granted him in and through the *tribunicia potestas* were all-sufficient for his purpose. His *cura morum* is mentioned by Horace (*Od.* IV. 15. 9 ff.; *Ep.* II. 1. 2) and Ovid (*Met.* XV. 832 ff.; *Trist.* II. 233 ff.). See Momms., *Res Gest.* 36 ff.; *Röm. Staatsr.* II³. 706 f., 882 f., 1098 f.

Page 62. 1. censum tamen populi, etc.: Suetonius is here correct and in agreement with Augustus's own statement (*M. A.* VIII. 2. 2 ff.): *Et in consulatu sexto censum populi conlega M. Agrippa egi. Lustrum post annum alterum et quadragensimum feci. . . . Iterum consulari cum imperio lustrum solus feci C. Censorino et C. Asinio cos. . . . Tertium consulari cum imperio lustrum conlega Tib. Caesare filio feci Sex. Pompeio et Sex. Appuleio cos.* Augustus thus made use of his consulship on one occasion, in 28 B.C., and twice of the *imperium consulare*, in 8 B.C. and 14 A.D., in some way conferred upon him, to hold a *census populi.* See Mommsen, *Röm. Staatsr.* II³. 337 f. While possessed temporarily of *censoria potestas*, therefore, Augustus avoided the obnoxious title of *censor.* The last *lustrum* before that of 28 B.C. was held in 69 B.C., in the censorship of L. Gellius and Cn. Lentulus. Tiberius received *imperium consulare*, also, by enactment when Augustus's colleague in taking the census of 14 A.D.; cf. *Tib.* 21. 1. Dio's reckoning is far different and false, as well. He gives four dates: 29–28 B.C.; 19 B.C.; 12–11 B.C.; 3 A.D. See Dio LII. 42. 1 ff., LIII. 1. 1 ff.; LIV. 10. 5 ff.; LIV. 28. 3 f., 35. 1; LV. 13. 4. Consult Mommsen, *Res Gest.* 36 ff.

Chapter 28. Augustus's Deliberations on Resignation from Office. Rome is Beautified

3. De reddenda re p. bis cogitavit: Augustus's own statement (*M. A.* XXXIV. 6. 13 ff.) is to be compared with this: *In consulatu sexto et septimo, bella ubi civilia exstinxeram, per consensum universorum potitus rerum omnium, rem publicam ex mea potestate in senatus populique Romani arbitrium transtuli.* The facts of the case are that in 28–27 B.C. Augustus resigned the extraordinary powers and abolished by edict the *acta* of the triumvirate, restored the old custom by alternating in

holding the insignia of the consul's office, gave back to the senate some of its former rights of provincial control and restored the duties, at least, of the ancient censor after a lapse of forty-two years; see Tac., *Ann.* III. 28. 3; Dio LIII. 2. 5, LIII. 1. 1, 4. 3 f., 9. 6; *M. A.* VIII. 2. 2 ff. What he did not think of laying down, it seems, were the unusual powers involved in the *tribunicia potestas* and the *imperium proconsulare* and the personal sacrosanctity and precedence vouchsafed him everywhere by the titles of *Augustus* and *princeps;* cf. Dio LII. 1. 1, LIII. 12. 1 ff.; Strab. XVII. 3. 25. The second occasion to which our author alludes was what appeared to be a fatal illness in 23 B.C.; see note to page 49, line 25. He seemingly acknowledged the right of senate and people to appoint his successor; cf. Dio LIII. 30. 1–3. See Momms., *Röm. Staatsr.* II³. 745–749; *Res Gest.* 145 ff. **post . . . statim**: for *statim . . . post;* cf. page 22, line 17, *post biduum statim; Vit.* 14. 4, *post edictum . . . statim;* but page 94, line 6, *statim post civilia bella.*

4. memor obiectum: sc. *esse;* see Introd. II. § 10. *d.* (1). Cf. Plin., *N. H.* XXV. 3. 25, *memor Lucullum imperatorem clarissimum amatorio perisse.*

5. quasi per ipsum, etc.: *that it was chargeable to him that it was not restored.* On use of *quasi*-clause see Introd. II. § 6. *n.* **taedio**: see Introd. II. § 4. *t.*

7. rationarium: *a statistical table, an account of the general condition;* cf. page 108, line 4, *breviarium totius imperii,* and note. See Introd. II. § 1. *b.* Dio (LIII. 30. 2) says: 'And after some conversation with them on the public welfare he entered the forces and the public revenues in a book and gave it to Piso.'

8. non sine periculo: a common litotes; Introd. II. § 10. *k.* **illam . . . committi**: *it was hazardous to entrust the state (illam) to the will of the masses.* Dio (LII. 1. 2 ff.) states that Agrippa and Maecenas were present on this occasion and professes to give the arguments of the two privy councillors. Maecenas strongly insisted that Augustus should retain the supreme power; Agrippa, that he should resign it.

10. dubium eventu, etc.: *it is hard to say whether with better results or better intention;* a good illustration of occasional obscure brevities on our author's part. His idea, apparently, is that the purpose of Augustus in the establishment of the principate was quite as good as the actual effect of the changed régime on the welfare of the people. For the phraseology see Introd. II. § 3. *d.*

11. cum . . . ferret: *while he habitually manifested it.*

12. Ita mihi salvam, etc.: *may it be permitted me to establish the*

state safe and sound on its foundation and to gather the fruit of that act which I desire, only on the condition that I shall be called the author of the best possible condition of society. For the use of *ita . . . ut dicar* see Introd. II. § 8. *m.*

16. mansura in vestigio suo : *will stand fast where they are.*

17. Fecitque ipse, etc. : *and he gratified his own wish;* cf. page 80, line 29, *Compos factus votorum meorum; Calig.* 13, *populum Romanum . . . voti compotem fecit;* Liv. VII. 40. 5, *eius me conpotem voti vos facere potestis.*

19. inundationibus incendiisque obnoxiam : *exposed to flood and fire.* The frequency of inundations of the Tiber and its tributaries has been noted throughout Roman history; cf. Liv. I. 4. 4; XXXVIII. 28. 4; Tac., *Ann.* I. 76. 1, 79. 1; *Aug.* 30. 1; *Oth.* 8. 3. The risk from fires was equally great; cf. Juv. III. 6 f., with Mayor's note on the passage; *Aug.* 30. 1; *Claud.* 25. 2. See Gibbon, *Decline and Fall*, ch. LXXI; Merivale, *Hist. of Rom.*, IV.[4] 407 ff.

21. marmoream se relinquere, etc. : see Dio LVI. 30. 3. Augustus gives a list of his buildings and other works, new and restored, in the *Monumentum Ancyranum* (XIX. 4. 1–XXI. 4. 30). Cf. Hor., *Od.* III. 6. 1–4 and see Platner, *Anc. Rome*[2], 70–72.

Chapter 29. Public Buildings and other Adornments of the City

24. Publica opera, etc. : see Introd. II. § 10. *f.* (3). **vel praecipua** : see note to page 50, line 29.

25. forum cum aede Martis Ultoris : at Philippi Augustus had vowed a temple to Mars the Avenger; see line 31, below; Ov., *Fast.* V. 567 ff. Afterwards he decided to combine with it an extensive forum. He himself purchased the land necessary for its construction adjoining the *forum Iulium;* cf. *M. A.* XXI. 4. 21; page 13, line 5, and note. The temple was to receive, in 20 B.C., the standards recovered from the Parthians; cf. Dio LIV. 8. 3; *M. A.* XXIX. 5. 42. The formal dedication occurred on August 1, 2 B.C.; cf. Vell. II. 100. 2; Dio LV. 10. 4. Three Corinthian columns and a pilaster, with entablature, belonging to the colonnade of the right side may still be seen, together with ruins of the massive wall of the *forum Augustum.* See Platner, *Anc. Rome*[2], 276–281, 303. **templum Apollinis** : vowed in 36 B.C. after the victory over Sextus Pompeius and dedicated on October 9, 28 B.C.; cf. Vell. II. 81. 3; Dio LIII. 1. 3; *C. I. L.* I, page 403. It was situated, according to a recent theory, on the southwestern part of the Palatine, was built of solid white marble, with

colonnades and rich libraries of Latin and Greek books, and was filled with treasures of every sort. Its site is still in dispute. Cf. Hor., *Ep.* I. 3. 15 ff.; Ov., *Trist.* III. 1. 59 ff.; *M. A.* XIX. 4. 1 f. See Platner, *Anc. Rome*², 144–147.

26. aedem Tonantis Iovis: a small temple built of solid marble and famous for the statues it contained. It stood in front of the great temple of Jupiter Capitolinus on the southwestern peak of the Capitoline; cf. *M. A.* XIX. 4. 5; Plin., *N. H.* XXXVI. 6. 50; *Aug.* 91. 2. Vowed during the Cantabrian War of 26–25 B.C., it was dedicated on September 1, 22 B.C.; cf. Dio LIV. 4. 2; *C. I. L.* I, page 400. See Platner, *Anc. Rome*², 303.

28. non sufficientibus duobus: the two *fora* that were no longer adequate for the purpose were the *forum Romanum* and the *forum Iulium*. Dio (LXVIII. 10. 2) refers to Trajan's sitting in judgment 'now in the *forum Augustum*, now in the so-called *porticus Liviae*'.

30. publicatum est: see note to page 23, line 4, *bibliothecas . . .*, *publicare;* cf. Liv. III. 31. 1, *De Aventino publicando lata lex est.* **separatim**: *apart* from the *iudicia privata*, which were still to be held as formerly. **publica iudicia**: *public prosecutions* for crimes that came under the cognizance of *quaestiones perpetuae.* See Greenidge, *Rom. Publ. Life*, 368, 386, 390; Abbott, *Rom. Polit. Inst.*², 363 ff.

31. sortitiones iudicum: *the selections of jurors by lot.* From the annual *album iudicum* of the presiding magistrates in *quaestiones perpetuae* the panel of jurors for a particular trial was selected by lot. A certain number of unacceptable jurors might be rejected by prosecution and defense. The size of the jury was fixed within certain limits defined by the laws establishing the various courts. See Abbott, *Rom. Polit. Inst.*², 403.

32. pro ultione paterna: *to avenge his father;* on use of *paterna* for *patris* see Introd. II. § 3. *c.*

Page 63. **1. hic**: *i.e.* instead of in the Campus Martius or outside the pomoerium in the temple of Bellona; cf. Liv. III. 63. 6, XXVIII. 38. 2, XXVI. 21. 1 f. See Momms., *Röm. Staatsr.* III. 926 ff.

2. provincias cum imperio, etc.: compare the case of Julius Caesar setting out for Spain in a litter *inter officia prosequentium fascesque lictorum* (page 35, line 17). Shuckburgh, in a note on this passage, suggests it as probable that only governors of imperial provinces set out from this temple because they alone wore the military dress and possessed *imperium;* cf. Dio LIII. 13. 3 f.

5. **quam fulmine ictam**, etc. : Velleius (II. 81. 3) states that Augustus bought a large number of houses on the Palatine with the idea of enlarging his own, but afterwards devoted part of the space to the temple of Apollo and its adjoining colonnades and libraries; cf. Dio XLIX. 15. 5. The Etruscan soothsayers were regularly consulted concerning signs given by lightning. A place struck by lightning was in some way consecrated, as in this instance. For the significance and religious interpretation of lightnings among Etruscans and Romans cf. Sen., *Q. N.* II. 12 ff.; Plin., *N. H.* II. 51. 137 ff.

7. **quo loco iam senior**, etc. : cf. Tac., *Ann.* II. 37. 3, *cum in Palatio senatus haberetur.*

8. **decuriasque iudicum recognovit** : *revised the jury lists.* Such revision was necessary from time to time for the purpose of filling vacancies. For the *decuriae iudicum* see note to page 65, line 28, *tris iudicum decurias. Recognoscere* is thus used in *Calig.* 16, 2, *Equites . . . recognovit;* cf. page 65, line 18, *ergastula recognovit;* page 68, line 24, *Equitum turmas frequenter recognovit.*

9. **expeditione Cantabrica** : see note to page 56, line 30.

11. **praelucentem** : *lighting the way before him;* cf. Stat., *Silv.* I. 2. 89, *Natanti praeluxi.* Mayor (on Juv. III. 285) gives *lampadarius* as the word for the slave thus carrying the torch, from *C. I. L.* VI. 8867–8869; *lanternarius*, from Cic., *in Pis.* IX. 20. Cf. Valer. Max. VI. 8. 1: *accusatores servum . . . postulabant, quod ab eo . . . lanternam praelatam contenderent.*

13. **scilicet**: *namely, to wit;* a post-Augustan use, merely as an explanatory particle: cf. *Vesp.* 2. 1, *ne quid scilicet oculorum consuetudini deperiret.* **porticum basilicamque**, etc. : the *basilica Iulia*, dedicated in an unfinished state in 46 B.C., was completed by Augustus, but was destroyed by fire. It was restored by Augustus in 12 A.D. and dedicated to the memory of Gaius and Lucius. But the building still kept the name *basilica Iulia*, and is rarely mentioned as *basilica Gai et Luci.* There are considerable remains of the foundation and the marble pavement. Cf. *M. A.* XX. 4. 12 ff. and see Platner, *Anc. Rome*², 192–194.

14. **porticus Liviae et Octaviae** : the *porticus* of Livia, wife of Augustus, was on the Esquiline, situated, according to tradition, where once stood the palace of Servius Tullius. The house of Vedius Pollio, bequeathed to Augustus, was demolished to make room for it. It was dedicated in 7 B.C.; cf. Dio LV. 8. 2, LIV. 23. 6. Near by was a temple of Concord built by Livia; cf. Ov., *Fast.* VI. 637–640:

Te quoque magnifica, Concordia, dedicat aede
Livia, quam caro praestitit ipsa viro.
Disce tamen, veniens aetas, ubi Livia nunc est
Porticus, immensae tecta fuisse domus.

The *porticus* of Octavia, sister of Augustus, erected on the site of an older *porticus Metelli* of 147 B.C., enclosed a rectangular space with its three hundred columns, within which stood temples of Jupiter Stator and Juno Regina. It stood between the *circus Flaminius* and the theater of Marcellus. It was built after 27 B.C. and dedicated, with other *opera Octaviae*, in his sister's name. See Momms., *Res Gest.* 80; Platner, *Anc. Rome*², 451 f.

15. theatrum . . . Marcelli: planned, but not completed, by Julius Caesar; cf. page 22, line 31, *theatrumque summae magnitudinis Tarpeio monti accubans;* Dio XLIII. 49. 2 f. It was finished by Augustus and dedicated in 13 B.C. or, according to Pliny, in 11 B.C., in honor of the young Marcellus, Octavia's son adopted by Augustus, who died in 23 B.C.; cf. Dio LIV. 26. 1; Plin., *N. H.* VIII. 17. 65. The remains may now be seen in the Via del Teatro di Marcello between the southwestern end of the Capitoline and the river Tiber. Cf. *M. A.* XXI. 4. 22 f.: *Theatrum ad aedem Apollinis in solo magna ex parte a privatis empto feci, quod sub nomine M. Marcelli generi mei esset.* See Platner, *Anc. Rome*², 368–370. **ceteros principes viros**, etc.: cf. Dio LIV. 18. 2, 'He enjoined on those who celebrated victories to build from the spoils of war a work to commemorate their deeds.'

18. a Marcio Philippo, etc.: see note to page 50, line 5. He not only rebuilt, in 29 B.C., the temple of Hercules and the Muses, originally erected by M. Fulvius Nobilior about 187 B.C., but enclosed it in a *porticus Philippi.* Cf. Macrob., *Sat.* I. 12. 16; Plin., *N. H.* XXXV. 10. 66; Mart. V. 49. 12; Ov., *Fast.* VI. 799 ff. See Platner, *Anc. Rome*², 347 f., 376.

19. L. Cornificio: L. Cornificius, an adherent of Octavian and appointed by him to accuse Brutus (cf. Plut., *Brut.* XXVII), was consul in 35 B.C. after distinguishing himself as one of Octavian's lieutenants against Sextus Pompeius. The temple of Diana restored by him was said to have been built on the Aventine by Servius Tullius as a common sanctuary of the Latin League; cf. Liv. I. 45. 2 f.; Strab. IV. 1. 4. See Platner, *Anc. Rome*², 415.

20. Asinio Pollione: Gaius Asinius Pollio, distinguished poet, orator and historian, 76 B.C.–5 A.D., and consul in 40 B.C., was a patron of letters and established the first public library at Rome from his Illyrian spoils;

cf. Plin., *N. H.* VII. 30. 115; XXXV. 2. 10. The original Hall of Liberty, or Freedom's Hall, was apparently burned under Augustus. When restored by Pollio, it contained his library; cf. Ov., *Trist.* III. 1. 71 f.:

Nec me, quae doctis patuerunt prima libellis,
Atria Libertas tangere passa sua est.

See Platner, *Anc. Rome*², 275. **Munatio Planco**: see note to page 49, line 11. The temple of Saturn, consecrated in 497 B.C., at the foot of the *Clivus Capitolinus*, was restored from the spoils of war in 42 B.C.; cf. Liv. II. 21. 1; *C. I. L.* VI. 1316, X. 6087. From earliest times it was a public depository. The existing podium belongs to the temple of Plancus. The eight remaining columns date from a period of decadence, that of the final restoration. See Platner, *Anc. Rome*², 178 f.

21. Cornelio Balbo: L. Cornelius Balbus, of Gades in Spain, accused in 56 B.C. of having obtained Roman citizenship illegally, was defended by Cicero in an extant speech and acquitted. He was the friend and agent of Julius Caesar, won Octavian's favor and was consul in 40 B.C. He was granted a triumph over the Garamantes in 19 B.C. Pliny (*N. H.* XXXVI. 7. 60) mentions four onyx columns in his theater which excited great admiration at Rome. The theater was dedicated in 13 B.C. and stood not far from the theater of Marcellus and so near the Tiber as to be inaccessible during high waters; cf. Dio LIV. 25. 2. See Platner, *Anc. Rome*², 367. **Statilio Tauro**: Statilius Taurus was one of Octavian's generals at the battle of Actium, was consul in 37 and 26 B.C. and *praefectus urbi* during the absence of Augustus in 16 B.C. The first stone amphitheater in Rome was erected by him in 30–29 B.C. on the Campus Martius and was destroyed in the great fire of 64 A.D.; cf. Dio LI. 23. 1, LIX. 10. 5, LXII. 18. 2. See Platner, *Anc. Rome*², 364 f.

22. M. . . . Agrippa: Marcus Vipsanius Agrippa, besides constructing the *portus Iulius* and other great works in Italy, made many splendid contributions to the magnificence and convenience of Rome, either at his own expense or in the administering of public funds; see notes to page 54, line 1, and page 53, line 22. In his third consulship, 27 B.C., he built the Pantheon, at the north end of his Thermae, in the Campus Martius, still the best preserved edifice of ancient Rome, though restored under later emperors; cf. Dio LIII. 27. 2. His Thermae were probably opened in 19 B.C.; the *Saepta*, or rectangular *porticus* in the Campus Martius, in 26 B.C.; gardens with a *stagnum*, or artificial pool, and the *Euripus*, or open channel, in 11 B.C.; two *aquaeductus*, *Aqua Iulia* and *Aqua Virgo*, built, respectively, in 33 B.C., during his aedileship, and in 19 B.C.; a

porticus Neptuni in 25 B.C. Cf. Dio LIII. 23. 1, 27. 1; LIV. 11. 7, 29. 4; Frontin., *de Aq.* 83 f.; Plin., *N. H.* XXXI. 3. 42. In 33 B.C., as aedile, he also constructed seven hundred basins and five hundred fountains; cf. Plin., *N. H.* XXXVI. 15, 121. See Platner, *Anc. Rome*², 351–358, 384 ff., 386 ff., 96 f.

Chapter 30 Divisions of the City. Precautionary Measures. The Viae. Restorations

23. Spatium urbis, etc.: *he divided the city's area into wards and precincts.* From earliest times there were four *regiones;* see Dion. Hal. IV. 14 and note to page 48, line 12. Rome had now outgrown the limits of the Servian Wall, however, and in 8–7 B.C. Augustus divided the entire space, almost to the line of the later Aurelian Wall (271–276 A.D.), into fourteen *regiones*, or wards, which were subdivided, in Pliny's time, into two hundred and sixty-five *vici*, or precincts, each comprising a group, or block, of buildings. Each of these *vici* had its *aedicula Larium Compitalium*, where the Lares of the crossroads were worshipped, and later its shrine for the worship of the *Genius Augusti;* cf. Plin., *N. H.* III. 5. 66; *C. I. L.* VI. 454; Ov., *Fast.* V. 145 f.; and see Momms., *Res Gest.* 82. The *vicus* was used for administrative purposes, as may be seen from page 69, line 14, and page 71, line 28; cf. *Tib.* 76; *Claud.* 18. 1.

24. annui magistratus: each of these fourteen *regiones* was to be in charge of a praetor, aedile or tribune annually selected by lot; cf. Dio LV. 8. 7 and see Ferrero, *Greatn. and Decl. of Rome*, V. 263 f. **sortito**: see Introd. II. § 9. *a.* (4). **magistri e plebe**, etc.: these precinct-masters apparently existed before the reform of Augustus, but with no official character. The leaders chosen were mainly freedmen, foreigners, or plebeians of standing, and received no compensation, but were allowed, on occasions, to wear the *toga praetexta* and to be attended by two lictors. They provided, in particular, for the worship of the *Lares Compitales* and, later, of the *Genius Augusti*, besides having general oversight over festivals, fire brigades and the public safety; cf. Dio LV. 8. 6 f.; Liv. XXXIV. 7. 2; and see Ferrero, *Greatn. and Decl. of Rome*, V. 236 f., and notes.

25. Adversus incendia, etc.: see Introd. II. § 5. *c.* On *excubias* see note to page 58, line 11. Because of the increased frequency and danger of fires Augustus enrolled, in 6 A.D., seven cohorts of freedmen, each under the command of a knight, to serve as *nocturni vigiles*, with the combined duties of firemen and policemen, in the various wards of the

city. In general, one corps of about one thousand men would look after two wards. The entire force of seven thousand or more men was under the *praefectus vigilum*, or chief of police. Cf. Dio LV. 26. 4 f., and see Abbott, *Rom. Polit. Inst.*[2], 367 f.; Lanciani, *Anc. Rome*, Chapter VIII, *The Police and Fire Dept. of Anc. Rome.*

27. laxavit: *laxare*, in the sense of 'widen', 'deepen', is found in Cic., *ad Att.* IV. 16. 8: *ut forum laxaremus et usque ad atrium Libertatis explicaremus.* Dio (LIII. 20. 1, 33. 5) refers to severe floods in 27 B.C. and 23 B.C. Shuckburgh refers this widening of the channel to the year 8 B.C.; see his note on this passage.

28. olim: = *iam diu;* cf. Plin., *Ep.* VIII. 9. 1: *Olim non librum in manus, non stilum sumpsi, olim nescio quid sit otium.* **ruderibus**: *rubbish*, from building operations and ruins of flood and fire; cf. *Vesp.* 8. 5, *Deformis urbs veteribus incendiis ac ruinis erat; . . . ruderibus purgandis manus primus admovit;* Tac., *Ann.* XV. 43. 4, *Ruderi accipiendo Ostiensis paludes destinabat.* *Rudus* is more common in the sense of 'concrete' or 'coarse plaster'. **prolationibus**: such 'projections' or encroachments of buildings, possibly, as those mentioned by Horace (*Od.* III. 1. 33 ff.).

30. Flaminia via . . . munienda: *the repaving of the Flaminian Way as far as Ariminum* (modern Rimini). For *munire* in the sense of 'make a road passable', by opening, repaving or otherwise, cf. Cic., *pro Mil.* VII. 17, *quasi Appius ille Caecus viam muniverit;* Liv. XXI. 37. 2, *ad rupem muniendam.* This occurred in 27 B.C.; cf. *M.A.* XX. 4. 19, *Consul septimum viam Flaminiam ab urbe Ariminum feci;* Dio LIII. 22. 1. The Via Flaminia, the great road to the North begun in the censorship of Gaius Flaminius, 220 B.C., ended at Ariminum, from which place it was continued through Cisalpine Gaul under the name of the Via Aemilia; cf. Liv., *Epit.* XX: *C. Flaminius censor viam Flaminiam muniit.* **reliquas triumphalibus**, etc.: the phrase *ex manubiali pecunia*, 'from prize money', apparently occurs only here; *ex manubiis* is more usual: cf. *M. A.* XXI. 4. 21 f., *ex manibiis;* page 13, line 5, and *Tib.* 20, *de manubiis.* Strictly speaking, *manubiae*, as opposed to *praeda*, means 'money obtained from the sale of booty'; cf. Gell. XIII. 25. 1 ff. Of this money one part was put into the *aerarium*, one part was given to the soldiers and the remainder belonged to the general, by whom it was usually expended largely upon public works, as we have seen. The great Roman roads were called *viae praetoriae* or *consulares* and were under the supervision of *curatores.* To be a *curator viae Flaminiae* in 65 B.C. rendered a man formidable as a rival for the consulship; cf. Cic., *ad Att.* I. 1. 2.

Of the *viri triumphales* here mentioned, C. Calvisius Sabinus triumphed from Spain in 28 B.C. and repaired the *Via Latina.* See Momms., *Res Gest.* 87.

31. manubiali : said to occur only here ; Introd. II. § 1. *a.*

Page 64. 1. Aedes sacras, etc. : particularly in 28 B.C.; cf. *M. A.* XX. 4. 17 f.: *Duo et octoginta templa deum in urbe consul sextum ex decreto senatus refeci, nullo praetermisso quod eo tempore refici debebat.* Dio (LIII. 2. 4) states that Augustus assigned the work of restoring others to the descendants of original founders. Horace (*Od.* III. 6. 1–8) refers to this restoration of neglected shrines.

3. ut qui : less common than *quippe qui* before Livy's time. See Lane, *Lat. Gram.*[2] 1827, and Introd. II. § 8. *j.* **cellam Capitolini Iovis** : there were three *cellae*, chapels or shrines, in the great temple of Jupiter on the Capitoline. The central and largest *cella* was sacred to Jupiter; the two smaller ones to Juno and Minerva, respectively. **sedecim milia pondo**, etc. : Augustus (*M. A.* XXI. 4. 26) states that the entire value of such gifts was about one hundred million sesterces. Mommsen (*Res Gest.* 88) therefore considers the amount of gold here stated, sixty-four million sesterces, to be an exaggeration. The gift of pearls and other precious stones, valued at fifty million sesterces, is half of the entire amount mentioned by Augustus. The jewels may have been from Cleopatra's spoils ; cf. Dio LI. 22. 2 f.

Chapter 31. Pontifex Maximus. Revision of Calendar. Revival of Ancient Rites. Honors Paid Great Leaders

6. pontificatum maximum, etc. : although Lepidus, it seems, held the office irregularly, the pontifex maximus could not be removed from office. Augustus refused to break a constitutional rule, but took credit for observing the rule ; cf. *M. A.* X. 2. 23 f. : *Pontifex maximus ne fierem in vivi conlegae locum, populo id sacerdotium deferente mihi quod pater meus habuit, recusavi.* Lepidus died in 13 B.C. and Augustus was elected to the office on March 6, 12 B.C. ; cf. *M. A.* X. 2. 25 f. ; *C. I. L.* I, page 387. See Liv., *Epit.* CXVII ; Vell. II. 63. 1 ; Dio XLIV. 53. 6 f. ; App., *B.C.* V. 131. 543.

8. quidquid fatidicorum librorum, etc. : *whatever prophetic writings of Greek and Latin origin were commonly current, anonymously or on quite inadequate authority;* cf. page 9, line 22, *utque vulgo mox ferrentur hi versus.* For the use of *quidquid . . . librorum* see Introd. II. § 4. *e.*

10. supra duo milia: cf. Introd. II. § 5. *r.* (2). (*b*). **solos retinuit**, etc.: the new collection of these prophecies which was made after the destruction of the older copies with the Capitoline temple on July 6, 83 B.C.; see App., *B. C.* I. 86. 391; Tac., *Hist.* III. 72. Augustus ordered the priests to copy some that were becoming illegible from age; cf. Dio LIV. 17. 2. Yet the revision did not prevent the circulation of professed prophecies, as we find Tiberius ordering a further revision and the destruction of the spurious works; see Tac., *Ann.* VI. 12 (18). 1–3; Dio LVII. 18. 4 f. The official copy was consulted as late as the third century; cf. Vopisc., *Aurel.* 18. 5. The *quindecimviri Sibyllini*, or *sacris faciundis*, had charge of these books, under the senate's supervision, and were under bond to keep secret their contents; cf. Tac., *Ann.* VI. 12 (18). 1, 5, and see Marquardt, *Röm. Staatsv.* III². 380 f.

12. forulis auratis: *gilded bookcases;* cf. Juv. III. 219: *Hic libros dabit et forulos mediamque Minervam.* See Introd. II. § 1. *e.*

13. Annum a Divo Iulio, etc.: for the Julian calendar see *Jul.* 40 and notes to page 20, lines 24 ff. The error of three days which had crept into the calendar between 45 B.C. and 8 B.C. was corrected by a decree of Augustus that there should be no additional days for the next twelve years. Cf. Macrob., *Sat.* I. 14. 14: *Hic error sex et triginta annis permansit, quibus annis intercalati sunt dies duodecim cum debuerint intercalari novem. Sed hunc quoque errorem sero deprehensum correxit Augustus, qui annos duodecim sine intercalari die transigi iussit, ut illi tres dies, qui per annos triginta et sex vitio sacerdotalis festinationis excreverant, sequentibus annis duodecim nullo die intercalato devorarentur.*

15. Sextilem mensem, etc.: Dio (LV. 6. 6 f.) gives the date of the change from *Sextilis* to *Augustus* as 8–7 B.C.

17. quod hoc sibi, etc.: for his first consulship see note to page 60, line 9. Octavian entered Alexandria on August first, 30 B.C. (note to page 55, line 15) and fifteen years later Drusus defeated the Vindelici and other tribes on the same day, according to Horace (*Od.* IV. 14. 34 ff.):

Nam tibi quo die
Portus Alexandrea supplex
Et vacuam patefecit aulam,
Fortuna lustro prospera tertio
Belli secundos reddidit exitus.

Possibly the victory over Sextus Pompeius was won in August; see note to page 53, line 25. Cf. Dio LV. 6. 7. But the battle of Actium occurred

in September, not in August; see note to page 55, line 2. It is a notable fact that July and August were the only names representative of emperors that remained in the calendar, though other emperors undertook to affix their names to other months; cf. *Ner.* 55; *Dom.* 13. 3.

18. Sacerdotum et numerum, etc.: in order to put the stamp of his approval on the sacred colleges and brotherhoods, Augustus himself, besides being *pontifex maximus*, was actively interested as *augur*, *quindecimvir sacris faciundis*, *septemvir Epulonum*, *frater Arvalis*, *sodalis Titius* and *fetialis*, according to the *Monumentum Ancyranum* (VII. 1. 45 f.). He also influenced members of his own household to join these colleges; see Momms., *Res Gest.* 34.

19. sed et commoda: *and, what is more, their privileges;* see Introd. II. § 6. *e.* These would, doubtless, include special emoluments and exemptions over and above those regularly granted to priestly orders. See Marquardt, *Röm. Staatsr.* III ^{2}. 234 ff. **Vestalium**: special gifts were sometimes made to individual Vestals; cf. *Aug.* 44. 3; Tac., *Ann.* IV. 16. 6.

20. capi: correctly used of the selection of a Vestal, since the *pontifex maximus* took her by the hand from her father, as if a captive in war, using as part of the formula of the ritual act the words, *te*, *Amata*, *capio*, and she thus passed out of the *patria potestas*. Originally, from twenty candidates selected by the comitia one Vestal was chosen by lot. The candidates must be between six and ten years of age and daughters of living parents, who were not freedmen nor mechanics. They were bound to chastity and the service for thirty years, after which time they were permitted to retire and marry. But the custom was now for persons to offer their daughters. Because of a lack of volunteers Augustus even removed the restriction regarding freedmen's daughters; cf. Dio LV. 22. 5. See Gell. I. 12. 9–14; Tac., *Ann.* II. 86. 1, IV. 16. 6, XV. 22. 4.

21. ambirentque multi, etc.: *and many solicited the favor of not subjecting their daughters to the lot.* Consult Introd. II. § 1. *c.* and II. § 8. *l.*

22. si cuiusquam, etc.: *if any of his grand-daughters were of suitable age.* Not till late is *competere* used absolutely, without the ablative or *ad* with the accusative. The regular usage occurs in Tac., *Ann.* III. 46. 1, *neque oculis neque auribus satis conpetebant;* Liv. XXII. 5. 3, *ut vix ad arma capienda aptandaque pugnae conpeteret animus.* At the time of the change of policy that Dio (LV. 22. 5) mentions, 5 A.D., Julia and Agrippina, grand-daughters of Augustus, were both too old to be chosen as Vestals.

24. paulatim: see Introd. II. § 1. *f.* **Salutis augurium**: as goddess of the public welfare, a temple was dedicated to Salus in 302 B.C. on the Quirinal. The 'augury of Safety', known to us through its revival by Augustus in 29 B.C., was an ancient religious rite at the beginning of each year or at the accession of new consuls; cf. Dio LI. 20. 4; Tac., *Ann.* XII. 23. 3. It was first ascertained whether prayers would be acceptable to the gods and then such petitions were offered on an auspicious day. The frequency of foreign and civil wars had diminished the opportunities for such auguries before this time. Cf. Dio XXXVII. 24. 1–3, and see Fowler, *Rom. Fest.* 190 f.

25. Diale flamonium: *the office of 'flamen Dialis'*. Of the fifteen *flamines*, or priests, of different divinities enumerated by Festus (154. 27 f., M.) there were three *flamines maiores: Dialis, Martialis, Quirinalis.* Seventy-five complete years intervened between the death of L. Cornelius Merula in 87 B.C. and the creation of another flamen by Augustus in 11 B.C.; cf. Dio LIV. 36. 1; Tac., *Ann.* III. 58. 2. See Marquardt, *Röm. Staatsv.* III². 331 ff., and note to page 1, line 2. **sacrum Lupercale**: the ancient 'ceremonial of the Lupercalia', celebrated on February fifteenth, had apparently been discontinued after the famous celebration of 44 B.C.; cf. *Jul.* 79. 2. Augustus (*M. A.* XIX. 4. 2) mentions its revival. For a discussion of the festival see Fowler, *Rom. Fest.* 310 ff. **ludos Saeculares**: this celebration of the 'Secular Games' was in 17 B.C., the fifth since the founding of the city; cf. *M. A.* XXII. 4. 36 f.; Tac., *Ann.* XI. 11. 1; Dio LIV. 18. 2. The four others occurred, it seems, in 449, 349–8, 249 and 146 B.C. The Civil War prevented their celebration in 49–48 B.C. Desirous of reviving the ancient ceremony, Augustus secured from the *quindecimviri*, keepers of the Sibylline books, an opinion that the celebration was due in 17 B.C. on the basis of the Etruscan reckoning of one hundred and ten years to a *saeculum;* cf. Hor., *Carm. Saec.* 5, 21 ff. Especial prominence was given to Apollo and Diana. In connection with the third day's celebration, June third, Horace's *Carmen Saeculare* was sung by choruses of youths and maidens, accompanying a sacrifice to Apollo on the Palatine. See Marquardt, *Röm. Staatsv.* III². 385 f.; cf. *The Atlantic Monthly*, LXIX. 145 ff., *The Pageant at Rome in the year 17 B.C.*

26. Compitalicios: the festival of the Compitalia was celebrated once a year, soon after the Saturnalia, in honor of the two Lares Compitales, who were worshipped at the *compita*, places in the city where two or more ways met. The festival was under the supervision of the officials of the *vici* as *magistri collegiorum compitaliciorum.* But these colleges

were, for the most part, abolished by Caesar (*Jul.* 42. 3) and the *ludi compitalicii* were not revived until Augustus made them a part of his general reorganization of the city and its worship; cf. page 63, lines 23 ff., with notes. See Fowler, *Rom. Fest.* 279 f. **Lupercalibus vetuit currere inberbes**: a reference to the two companies of youths who participated in the festival by running round the base of the Palatine hill, girt in the skins of slaughtered goats and striking at all the women near them with strips of skin from the victims. See Fowler, *Rom. Fest.* 311 f.

27. prohibuit . . . frequentare: see Introd II. § 9. *b.* (1).

28. nocturnum spectaculum: the chief celebration extended from the evening of May thirty-first, 17 B.C., to the night of June third.

29. Compitales Lares, etc.: definite dates are nowhere stated, but Marquardt (*Röm. Staatsv.* III². 206. n. 3) suggests that May first and August first are probable days, quoting Ovid, *Fast.* V. 129 f., 147 f. These are the verses:

Praestitibus Maiae Laribus videre Kalendae
Aram constitui parvaque signa deum,

and again:

Quo feror? Augustus mensis mihi carminis huius
Ius habet.

See also Marq., *Röm Staatsv.* III². 203 ff.

Page 65. **1. manentibus titulis**: *with their surviving inscriptions;* cf. Vell. II. 39. 2, *quarum titulis forum eius praenitet.*

2. statuas: the series extended from Aeneas to the time of Augustus, the statues occupying niches in the two colonnades of the *forum Augusti*, as seen from Ovid, *Fast.* V. 563 f.:

Hinc videt Aenean oneratum pondere caro
Et tot Iuleae nobilitatis avos.

Dio (LV. 10. 3) states that they were of bronze; Lampridius (*Alex. Sev.* 28. 6) says they were marble. In the center of the *forum* stood the *quadrigae* mentioned by Augustus; cf. *M. A.* XXXV. 6. 27. See note to page 62, line 25. **triumphali effigie**: *in the likeness of triumphing commanders.* See Introd. II. § 3. *c.*

4. ut ad illorum, etc.: supply *vitam*, with Bücheler, after *illorum* and translate: *that while he lived he himself, as well as the rulers of after ages, might be required by the citizens to attain, as it were, unto the standard set by the lives of those famous men.* *Exigere* is the technical

term for making weights and measures conform to the standards in charge of the aediles. J. C. Rolfe, in a note on this passage, compares *C. I. L.* XIV. 4124. 1. 2, X. 8067. 2. Cf. page 24, line 10, *exegisse pondus.*

7. Pompei . . . statuam: originally in the *curia Pompei*, where 'great Caesar fell' (cf. *Jul.* 88), it escaped the fire that later destroyed the *curia*; cf. App., *B. C.* II. 147. 613. It is generally believed that the statue was of bronze. **contra theatri eius regiam**, etc.: *placed it above a marble arch opposite the grand door of his* (*i.e.* Pompey's) *theater. Regiam*, it is thought, here refers to the main door, leading from the stage to the colonnade of the theater; see Richter, *Topogr. d. Stadt Rom*, 229; J. C. Rolfe in *Trans. Am. Philol. Assn.* XLV (1914). 35 ff. This theater of Cn. Pompey, the first permanent theater in Rome, was built in 55 B.C. and restored by Augustus in 32 B.C.; cf. *M. A.* XX. 4. 9. It stood northwest of the *circus Flaminius.* The substructure and general contour of the auditorium may still be seen. The *porticus Pompeiana* was a large court, outside the theater, enclosed by columns and beautified with statues, trees and fountains. Cf. Ov., *Ars. Am.* I. 67: *Tu modo Pompeia lentus spatiare sub umbra.* See Platner, *Anc. Rome*^{2}, 366 f.

Chapter 32. Suppression of Brigandage. Cancellation of Debts. Courts and Juries

10. Pleraque . . . publicam: *very many practices of the worst type tending to the detriment of the public welfare.*

11. ex consuetudine licentiaque: *from the lawless practices;* hendiadys: see Introd. II. § 10. *i.*

12. grassatorum: *footpads;* cf. page 35, line 25, *grassatorum et sicariorum; Tib.* 37. 1, *a grassaturis ac latrociniis.*

15. ergastulis possessorum, etc.: *ergastula* were primarily prisons for troublesome slaves, who were compelled to work, by day, in bonds in the fields. With our passage may be compared *Tib.* 8: *curam administravit . . . repurgandorum tota Italia ergastulorum, quorum domini in invidiam venerant quasi exceptos supprimerent non solum viatores sed et quos sacramenti metus ad eius modi latebras compulisset.* The evil grew apace until finally abolished by Hadrian; cf. Spart., *Hadr.* 18. 10, *Ergastula servorum et liberorum tulit.* See Mommsen, *Hist. of Rome* (Engl. Transl.), III. 70, with note.

16. plurimae factiones: etc.: *large numbers of leagues were formed, under the name of a new guild, with a view to association in every possible crime.* **nullius non**: for the litotes see Introd. II. § 10. *k.*

17. Igitur: see Introd. II. § 6. *f.* **grassaturas dispositis**, etc.: cf. *Tib.* 37. 1: *In primis tuendae pacis a grassaturis ac latrociniis seditionumque licentia curam habuit. Stationes militum per Italiam solito frequentiores disposuit;* where *stationes* is used, as in our passage, of 'guards', 'outposts' of soldiers. For *grassaturas* see Introd. II. § 1. *b.*

19. collegia praeter antiqua, etc.: *he disbanded the guilds, with the exception of those of long standing and in conformity with law.* Dio (LIV. 2. 3) refers this to the year 22 B.C. Trade guilds had existed as early as the regal period; cf. Plut., *Num.* XVII, and see Momms., *Röm. Staatsr.* III. 287. n. 1. Numerous guilds of workmen had been allowed, but they were often used for illegal purposes and attempts had been made previously to distinguish the guilty from the innocent; cf. page 22, line 10, *Cuncta collegia praeter antiquitus constituta distraxit.* Augustus's *lex Iulia de collegiis*, it seems, required a license for every *collegium* from senate or emperor. Their purpose would determine their legality. See *C. I. L.* VI. 2143.

20. Tabulas veterum aerari debitorum: *records of old debts to the treasury;* cf. Dio LIII. 2. 3. **vel praecipuam calumniandi materiam**: *by far the most frequent source of blackmail;* see note to page 50, line 29. Cf. *Dom.* 9. 2: *Reos qui ante quinquennium proximum apud aerarium pependissent universos discrimine liberavit.*

21. iuris ambigui: *of uncertain title;* see Introd. II. § 4. *b.* Commissioners called *curatores publicorum locorum* regularly decided whether actual holders of land had legal title to it.

23. sordibus: *humiliation;* refers especially to the mourning attire in which the accused customarily appeared in public: cf. *Vit.* 8. 1, *reis sordes, damnatis supplicia dempsit.*

24. nomina abolevit: *struck off their names* from the *tabulae publicae*, which, in such cases, hung in the *aerarium;* cf. *Dom.* 9. 2, *Reos, qui . . . apud aerarium pependissent.*

25. repetere: *bring to trial again;* cf. *Dom.* 9. 2, *Reos . . . nec repeti nisi intra annum eaque condicione permisit ut accusatori qui causam non teneret exilium poena esset; Dom.* 8. 4, *Corneliam . . . longo intervallo repetitam atque convictam defodi imperavit.* **par periculum**, etc.: *should be liable to the same penalty; i.e.* failing to win his suit, he should undergo the same penalty that would have been inflicted on the defendant, had he been convicted.

26. Ne quod autem maleficium, etc.: *that no crime, moreover, might go unpunished or no civil proceeding fail through delay;* see Introd. II. § 1. *c.* The distinction may be either between a criminal

and a civil proceeding or else between a civil suit for damages arising from an injury and a suit arising from an obligation or a property right. If the latter view be accepted, we must translate *maleficium* as 'injury', not 'crime'. *Elabi* signifies 'escape from the hands of the law'; cf. *Tib.* 33, *si quem reorum elabi gratia rumor esset, subitus aderat.* It is used by zeugma with *negotium;* see Introd. II. § 10. *c.*

27. honoraris ludis: private games given to the people by magistrates or men of rank on the occasion of some great thanksgiving; cf. Paul. *ex* Fest., 102, M. Augustus did not invade the days assigned to regular *feriae*, whether *ludi stati* or *conceptivi.* See Marq., *Röm. Staatsv.* III². 293 ff.

28. actui rerum accommodavit: *devoted to the prosecution of legal business;* thus increasing the number of days on which actions might be brought. Cf. *Claud.* 15. 1, *Cum decurias rerum actu expungeret; Claud.* 23. 1, *Rerum actum divisum antea in hibernos aestivosque menses coniunxit.* **Ad tris iudicum decurias**, etc.: by the *lex Aurelia* of 70 B.C. there were three *decuriae* of jurors made up of *senatores*, *equites* and *tribuni aerarii.* By the *lex Iulia* of 46 B.C. the *decuria* of *tribuni aerarii* was abolished; cf. *Jul.* 41. 2, with note to page 21, line 15; Dio XLIII. 25. 1. A third *decuria* was again formed by Antony in 44 B.C. comprising those who had been centurions or in the cavalry or in the *legio Alauda* in any rank; cf. Cic., *Phil.* I. 8. 20, V. 5. 12, XIII. 1. 3. Mommsen (*Röm. Staatsr.* III. 535 f.) contends that Augustus made up the three *decuriae* exclusively of *equites*, adding a fourth *decuria* composed of those 'of a lower rating'.

30. ducenariorum: sc. *decuria;* men whose property reached two hundred thousand sesterces, or half the knight's census of four hundred thousand sesterces.

31. tricensimo: probably an error if the provisions of the *lex Servilia* of 104 B.C., fixing the lowest limit at thirty years, were still in force. Yet Suetonius himself, not the copyist, may have been guilty of the error.

Page 66. 2. ut solitae agi, etc.: *that the usual prosecution of cases during the months of November and December should be given up;* cf. *actui rerum* on page 65, line 28, with *solitae agi . . . res.* During these months there were few *dies fasti*, days on which court might be held, because of the large number of *ludi* and other celebrations; particularly in December, with its Saturnalia lasting from five to seven days and its spirit of license affecting the entire month; cf. Juv. VII. 96 f.; Mart. IV.

88. 2, XIV. 72. To relieve the burdensome duties of the *iudices*, Caligula even added a fifth *decuria;* cf. *Calig.* 16, 2: *Ut levior labor iudicantibus foret, ad quattuor prioris quintam decuriam addidit.*

Chapter 33. Augustus as Judge

4. Ipse ius dixit: while the emperor's criminal jurisdiction was unlimited, he was frequently assisted by a *consilium* of jurists from the equestrian and senatorial orders. The *consiliarii* gave their opinions in writing to the *princeps*, who presided, and the *princeps* rendered the final decision. Cases before the emperor related to prominent persons and important issues. Suetonius notices the practice of the early emperors in this respect; cf. *Jul.* 43. 1; *Claud.* 14; *Ner.* 15. 1; *Dom.* 8. 1. See Abbott, *Rom. Polit. Inst.*[2] 347. **in noctem**: *up to nightfall;* see Introd. II. § 5. *k.* (1). (*b*). The active business of the Roman's day generally ended at noon or an hour later. Legal business began between eight and nine o'clock in the morning. Cf. Mart. IV. 8. 1–4:

Prima salutantes atque altera conterit hora,
Exercet raucos tertia causidicos:
In quintam varios extendit Roma labores,
Sexta quies lassis, septima finis erit.

Sessions of court were not properly prolonged after dark; cf. Plin., *Ep.* IV. 9. 9, *Actionem meam, ut proelia solet, nox diremit.* **si parum corpore valeret**: *if his physical strength proved inadequate.*

5. tribunali: see note to page 61, line 24.

7. lenitate: for instances of his clemency see *Aug.* 51. **manifesti parricidii reum**: *a man evidently guilty of parricide. Parricidium* was clearly understood to refer, as here, to the murder of parents or near relatives, at least in later times, whether the derivation be accepted from *pater* or *par* and *caedere;* cf. Quint., *Inst.* VIII. 6. 35.

8. ne culleo insueretur: *to prevent his being sewed up in a sack,* along with a dog, a cock, a snake and a monkey, to be thrown into the sea or a river after being scourged: the parricide's punishment. Cf. Liv., *Epit.* LXVIII; *Ner.* 45. 2, *Sed tu culleum meruisti;* Juv. VIII. 211–214:

Libera si dentur populo suffragia, quis tam
Perditus ut dubitet Senecam praeferre Neroni?
Cuius supplicio non debuit una parari
Simia nec serpens unus nec culleus unus.

non nisi confessi : *only after pleading guilty.* A lighter sentence might be imposed if the culprit stood trial without confessing his guilt; cf. Capitol., *Ant.* 8. 10. Augustus, at least, made it easy for the defendant to deny the charge.

11. lege Cornelia tenerentur : *were liable to punishment by the Cornelian Law.* The *lex Cornelia de falsis*, or *testamentaria*, passed in the dictatorship of Cornelius Sulla, was concerned with every species of fraud connected with wills. The witnesses to a forged will were in the same category as the actual forger. Augustus, apparently, made it possible for a witness to plead in mitigation of the act his ignorance of the nature of the will at the time he signed it. Cf. *Dig.* XLVIII. 10. 2, and see Smith's *Dict. of Antiq. s. v. falsum.*

13. cognoscentibus : *the jury;* used also of magistrates hearing a case in *Tib.* 33, *magistratibus pro tribunali cognoscentibus;* cf. *Claud.* 15. 1, *In cognoscendo autem ac decernendo; Claud.* 33. 1, *Cognoscens quondam in Augusti foro; Ner.* 15. 1, *Cognoscendi morem eum tenuit.* Each juror regularly received a wooden tablet, covered with wax on both sides and containing, on the one side, the letter *C* (*ondemno*), on the other, the letter *A* (*bsolvo*). The juror erased one or the other of these letters and deposited the tablet in an urn. If not convinced of the guilt or innocence of the defendant, he might erase both letters and scratch the two letters *N* (*on*) *L* (*iquet*) on his tablet. It appears that on the voting tablets distributed by Augustus his councillors might inscribe a modified verdict, as well as acquittal or condemnation. He himself may have decided in accordance with the voting of the more prominent of his councillors.

14. quos fraude, etc. : *who it had been established were induced to sign by misrepresentation or misunderstanding.*

15. Appellationes : the appellate jurisdiction of the *princeps* may have developed out of his tribunician power. He sometimes heard appeals in person, but might delegate them, as here stated, to Roman officials or provincial governors. Final appeals to the emperor were not forbidden, but were rarely taken. Appeals were usually not permissible in jury trials. In all such proceedings there was, doubtless, a variety of practice among the emperors; cf. *Calig.* 16. 2 : *Magistratibus liberam iuris dictionem et sine sui appellatione concessit; Ner.* 17, (*cautum*) *ut omnes appellationes a iudicibus ad senatum fierent.* In later times the *praefectus urbi* or *praefectus praetorio* might be delegated to hear such appeals. Cf. Dio LII. 22. 5 f., 33. 1 ff., and see Abbott, *Rom. Polit. Inst.*[2] 346 f.

Chapter 34. Legislation of Augustus

19. Leges retractavit, etc.: *he revised (existing) laws and enacted some new ones.* Augustus refers (*M. A.* VIII. 2. 12 ff.) only in a general way to these revisions and enactments. Among these *leges Iuliae*, too numerous to mention in full, those relating to social and financial reforms are almost as important as his political innovations. The *lex Iulia de adulteriis* of 17 B.C. prescribed particularly severe penalties for the guilty parties, while the *lex Iulia et Papia Poppaea de maritandis ordinibus* of 18 B.C. regulated certain marriages, imposed disabilities on unmarried persons and fixed rewards for those who had married and reared children. The latter law was vigorously opposed and was not finally passed till near the close of his reign, in 9 A.D., with its rewards increased and its penalties alleviated. His *leges sumptuariae* were intended to check extravagant tastes and so encourage marriage. Apparently, Augustus twice took some action, in 18 and 8 B.C., to prevent *ambitus* in connection with elections; but the general enactment *de ambitu* seems to have been passed on the later occasion. Cf. Dio LIV. 16. 1 ff., LV. 5. 3, LVI. 1. 2; Gell. II. 24. 14; Hor., *Carm. Saec.* 17 ff.; Tac., *Ann.* II. 50. 2–4, III. 25. 1, XV. 20. 3.

21. de maritandis ordinibus: *on the regulation of marriage between persons of various classes; i.e.* by the imposition of fines for celibacy in all classes.

22. prae tumultu recusantium: *by reason of the uproar of protests.*

23. nisi . . . demum: *until finally;* here followed by the ablative absolute construction; see Introd. II. § 6. *l.* **adempta . . . lenitave parte poenarum**: the tax on celibacy and the disabilities of childless and unmarried persons were considered particular hardships. Frequent attempts were made to modify the provisions of this law. Cf. Tac., *Ann.* III. 25. 1; Dio LVI. 6. 1 ff.

24. vacatione trienni: *a three years' exemption* from the obligation to marry after the death of a husband or wife.

26. equite: *the knights;* used collectively, as in *Galb.* 12. 2, *inmisso equite:* see Introd. II. § 2. *b.* **accitos Germanici liberos,** etc.: note the use of participles in this sentence; see Introd. II. § 9. *a.* Germanicus Caesar, son of Nero Claudius Drusus and grandson of Livia, was born in 15 B.C. He was still a *iuvenis* (cf. Gell. X. 28. 1) when the law was passed in 9 A.D., but had been quaestor, before the legal age, in 7 A.D., and had served honorably against the Pannonians and Dalmatians. The date of his marriage with Agrippina (born in 12 B.C.), daughter of

Agrippa and Julia, is unknown, but it seems that she had borne him several children; cf. *Calig.* 7, *ex ea novem liberos tulit.*

28. manu vultuque, etc.: *indicating by his gestures and expression that they should not be reluctant to follow the young man's example.*

29. inmaturitate sponsarum: *betrothals with immature girls.* Such nominal marriages were not otherwise infrequent. Augustus himself married Fulvia's daughter while she was a mere child, but never lived with her; see *Aug.* 62. 1. To prevent evasions of his law he now enacted that *sponsalia* must be followed by marriage within two years in order to be considered at all; cf. Dio LIV. 16. 7. Rewards were eventually offered, however, for information regarding those who sought to secure, through evasion, the rights reserved to parents of three children; cf. *Ner.* 10. 1, *Praemia delatorum Papiae legis ad quartas redegit;* Tac., *Ann.* III. 28. 4.

30. matrimoniorum: = *uxorum;* see Introd. II. § 2. *a.* By frequent change of wives they hoped the oftener to enjoy a *vacatio trienni.*

31. divortiis modum imposuit: by declaring the dowry forfeited by the party at fault and enforcing the observance of certain forms of divorce; cf. *Dig.* XXXVIII. 11. 1.

Chapter 35. Reforms of the Senate

Page 67. **1. affluentem numerum**, etc.: *the number swelled by a low-born and ill-assorted rabble.* For the constitution of the senate before Augustus see *Jul.* 41. 1 and note to page 21, line 4. Caesar had admitted men of every condition to the ranks of the senate, so that at his death the number had reached nine hundred; cf. *Jul.* 80. 2; Dio XLIII. 47. 3.

2. super mille: see Introd. II. § 5. *r.* (2). (*b*).

4. Orcivos: *Orcivi* or *Orcini* were 'freedmen by the grace of Orcus', slaves set free by their master's last will and testament. The *Orcivi senatores* were those admitted by Mark Antony under the pretence of their having been named in the papers left by Caesar.

5. duabus lectionibus: Augustus states that he three times revised the lists of senators; cf. *M. A.* VIII. 2. 1 f., *Senatum ter legi.* Dio refers (LII. 42. 1 f.) the first revision to 29 B.C., in conjunction with Agrippa; the second to 18 B.C., when he undertook rather an intricate system of selection through repeated nominations by chosen senators, which resulted in his completing the list, himself, up to six hundred; cf. Dio LIV. 13. 1 ff. Suetonius reverses this order of *lectiones.* Dio assigns

(LIV. 35. 1) the third enrollment to 11 B.C. and mentions (LV. 13. 3) a fourth in 4 A.D., effected by the aid of three commissioners. Mommsen (*Res Gest.* 35 f.) rejects the third of these. The membership was in this way reduced from one thousand to six hundred, the normal number under the empire. Many men of low birth were thus excluded and the aristocratic character of the senate was restored. Cf. Dio LII. 42. 1 ff. **prima . . . secunda**: sc. *lectione*.

7. sub veste: *under his tunic.* Dio (LIV. 12. 3) attributes his wearing the coat of mail to the disturbed state of the times.

9. Cordus Cremutius: A. Cremutius Cordus, by inversion of his name; cf. *Calig.* 16. 1, *Cordi Cremuti*, and see Introd. II. § 10. *b.* (3). Writing the history of his own generation, he may not have carried it beyond the death of Augustus, Furneaux thinks; see his note on Tac., *Ann.* IV. 34. 1, and cf. Sen., *ad Marc. de Cons.* 26. 5. It is hardly likely that such a statement as the one here quoted was actually read to Augustus; but see *Tib.* 61. 3; Dio LVII. 24. 2 f. Cordus was prosecuted under Tiberius on the pretext of his having called Brutus and Cassius 'the last of the Romans'. He committed suicide and his books were ordered burned, but they were saved and published under Caligula; cf. *Calig.* 16. 1; Tac., *Ann.* IV. 34. 1–35. 7.

11. nisi solum, etc.: *except one at a time and after previous examination of the folds of their robes*, lest daggers might be concealed in their togas; a favorite kind of collocation with Suetonius. See Introd. II. § 10. *a.* **Quosdam ad excusandi**, etc.: *he drove some to a shamefaced resignation.* Dio states (LII. 42. 2 f.) that those who were induced to resign voluntarily in the *lectio* of 29 B.C. were not without certain distinctions.

12. servavitque etiam, etc.: *and even in their resignation he kept for them their distinction of dress and their privilege of viewing the plays in the orchestra and attending their public banquets.* The insignia of the order were the *anulus aureus*, the *calceus senatorius* and the *latus clavus*; cf. *Aug.* 38. 2. They were entitled to special reserved seats at theater and circus; see *Aug.* 44. 1.

15. munera fungerentur: cf. Plaut., *Men.* 223, *munus facile fungitur;* Ter., *Heaut.* 66, *officia fungere;* Tac., *Ann.* IV. 38. 1, *hominum officia fungi.* Suetonius also uses the classical construction; cf. *Claud.* 35. 1, *vice ministrorum fungerentur.* The more archaic usage is also found on page 68, line 2, *quaesturam functi*, and on page 73, line 29, *qui suam vicem praesidendo fungerentur.* See Introd. II. § 4. *o.*

16. ture ac mero supplicaret: *should make oblation of incense and wine.*

18. coiretur : *the meeting was held;* impersonal use of *coire;* cf. Tac., *Ann.* IV. 69. 2, *loco in quem coibatur.* The regular place of meeting was the *curia Iulia.* **legitimus senatus** : *regular meeting of the senate.* These meetings were to be fixed by law because of the tendency to shirk such duties ; cf. Dio LV. 3. 1. But the senate might meet on the other days, also.

19. Septembri Octobrive, etc.: the lot was to decide what senators should constitute the quorum necessary for the decrees to be passed during the unwholesome autumn months and the vintage season. Horace (*Ep.* I. 7. 3–9 ; *Sat.* II. 6. 18 f.) pays his respects to the deadly *Auster* and the unhealthy month of September as sources of gain for the undertakers, while similar references to the season of fevers are found in Juvenal's pages (IV. 56 ff., VI. 517 f., XIV. 129 f.).

21. per quorum numerum, etc. : early in the reign of Augustus a quorum of four hundred members was required, but later it was necessary to reduce its size to the minimum number allowable for passing *senatus consulta* of various kinds. Cf. Dio LIV. 18. 3, 35. 1, LV. 3. 2. **sibique instituit consilia**, etc. : *and he adopted the plan of choosing privy (sibi) councils by lot for terms of six months.* The emperor's cabinet was first established in 27 B.C. and consisted of the two consuls, one representative of each of the other official positions at Rome and fifteen other senators chosen by lot ; cf. Dio LIII. 21. 4 f. As reorganized in 13 A.D. the *consilium* contained certain members of the household of the *princeps*, the consuls and consuls-elect, a committee of twenty senators and such others as the emperor might select. The measures enacted by this body had the validity of *senatus consulta.* By reason of Augustus's age his cabinet at this time was empowered to meet at his house ; cf. Dio LVI. 28. 2 f., and see Abbott, *Rom. Polit. Inst.*[2] 277 ; Greenidge, *Rom. Publ. Life*, 357, 386, 420 f.

23. ad frequentem senatum referendis : *to be brought before a full session of the senate.*

24. non more atque ordine : *not according to precedent and in order of seniority*, which would correspond with the list of senators arranged in order of official rank. After the emperor's name came those of the *consulares*, *praetorii*, etc. Distinctions had existed even with reference to the number of times an office had been held.

25. prout libuisset : see Introd. II. § 8. *h.* **perrogabat** : *would ask one after another;* implies 'taking the vote of the entire senate' : cf. Tac., *Hist.* IV. 9, *Cum perrogarent sententias consules;* Liv. XXIX. 19. 10, *Perrogari eo die sententiae . . . non potuere.*

Chapter 36. Administrative Reforms

28. acta senatus: these *proceedings of the senate* comprised the *senatus consulta*, official documents submitted to the senate and speeches of leading senators. See note to page 48, line 14.

29. ne magistratus, etc.: a return to the rule established in 52 B.C. by Pompey's *lex de iure magistratuum*, according to which magistrates should not be sent out as governors of provinces before the expiration of five years from the time when they 'laid down their office' (*deposito honore*). Augustus enacted this measure in 27 B.C. Cf. Dio XL. 56. 1, LIII. 14. 2.

30. ut proconsulibus ad mulos, etc.: the mules and tents were part of the proconsul's equipage, or *vasarium* (Cic., *in Pis.* 35. 86), and had formerly been supplied, without restriction, by purveyors at public expense. Cf. Dio LIII. 15. 5 and see *Jul.* 18. 1, *ante quam provinciae ornarentur*, and note to page 8, line 10.

32. ut cura aerari, etc.: this ordinance of Augustus of the year 28 B.C. gave the charge of the *aerarium Saturni* to two *praefecti aerarii* chosen by the senate from the praetorian senators; cf. Dio LIII. 2. 1; Tac., *Ann.* XIII. 29. 1. Later it was placed in charge of two praetors of the year, called *praetores aerarii* or *praetores ad aerarium*, selected by lot; cf. Tac., *Ann.* I. 75. 4, XIII. 29. 1; *Inscr. Or.* 723. Dio (LIII. 32. 2) assigns the change to 23 B.C. Under Claudius and Nero there were again *quaestores aerarii* until Nero appointed *praefecti aerarii Saturni*; cf. *Claud.* 24. 2; Tac., *Ann.* III. 28. 3, 5.

Page 68. 1. ut centumviralem hastam, etc.: *the centumviral court, which those who had held the office of quaestor had customarily convoked, should be summoned by the board of ten.* This court, dating back to the time of Servius Tullius, consisted of one hundred and five members, three from each tribe, from 241 B.C.; but it was later increased to one hundred and eighty. In Quintilian's time the four divisions of the court sat on raised seats in the *basilica Iulia*. The spear, *hasta* (here used in a transferred sense), was planted before the court as the ancient symbol of Quiritary ownership. The court was divided into four chambers, which ordinarily sat separately, but sometimes all together or in two divisions. Under the empire its members were probably taken from the *decuriae iudicum*. From the time of Augustus the *decemviri stlitibus iudicandis* presided over the different sections of the court. Cf. Quint., *Inst.* XII. 5. 6, V. 2. 1; Plin., *Ep.* VI. 33. 3; Dio LIV. 26. 6.

2. quaesturam functi: see Introd. II. § 4. *o*.

Chapter 37. New Offices Created. Censors Appointed

5. officia: *offices;* post-Augustan in this sense: cf. *Tib.* 42. 2, *Novum denique officium instituit a voluptatibus.* **curam operum**, etc.: these boards of supervisors were composed of members of senatorial rank and were appointed by the emperor for indefinite periods. The *curatores operum publicorum* were concerned, officially, only with keeping public buildings in repair. As seen from *Aug.* 29, the emperor himself saw to the construction of new buildings, just as he had taken a personal interest in the great Italian roads (*Aug.* 30. 1) before the appointment of *curatores viarum* in 20 B.C., each *curator* in charge of one of the chief roads. These *curatores* were of senatorial rank, while the *procuratores*, in charge of branch roads, were *equites.* The three *curatores aquarum* supervised the aqueduct system as Agrippa left it at his death. They were later assisted by a freedman or knight with the title of *procurator aquarum.* Augustus had taken early measures against inundations (*Aug.* 30. 1) and took the *cura aquarum* upon himself in 11 B.C.; cf. Frontin., *de Aq.* 98 ff., 105; *M. A.* XX. 4. 10 ff. Tiberius assigned the duty of protecting the city against floods, in 15 A.D., to *curatores alvei et riparum Tiberis;* cf. Dio LVII. 14. 7 f.

6. frumenti populo dividundi: during a great famine in 22 B.C. Augustus undertook the *cura annonae* (cf. *M. A.* V. 1. 32 ff.; Dio LIV. 1. 3 f.), an office of far greater importance than that of merely distributing grain; cf. *M. A.* XV. 3. 10 ff. Not until late in his reign did he organize an imperial bureau, presided over by a *praefectus annonae*, to take charge of the grain; cf. *Aug.* 42; Tac., *Ann.* I. 7. 3, VI. 13. 2; Aur. Vict., *Epit.* I. 6. See Mommsen, *Röm. Staatsr.* II³. 1041 ff.

7. praefecturam urbis: established by Augustus to provide for the government of the city in his absence, the *praefectus urbi* became a permanent official under Tiberius. Among those who at least performed the functions of the office under Augustus were Maecenas, 36–35 B.C. (Dio XLIX. 16. 2; Tac., *Ann.* VI. 11. 3); Messala Corvinus, in 26 B.C. (Tac., *Ann.* VI. 11. 4, with Furneaux's note); Agrippa, in 21 B.C. (Dio LIV. 6. 5); Statilius Taurus, in 16 B.C. (Dio LIV. 19. 6; Tac., *Ann.* VI. 11. 5). A continuous series is reckoned from the prefecture of Piso under Tiberius; cf. *Tib.* 42. 1; Tac., *Ann.* VI. 10. 5, 11. 6. **triumviratum legendi senatus**: for special revisions of the senate see note to page 67, line 5. The *album senatorium*, or λεύκωμα, was first posted by Augustus in 9 B.C. and annually revised thereafter; cf. Dio LV. 3. 3 f. But in 4 A.D. Augustus was assisted at a special revision by a 'board of

three', senators selected by lot from ten whom he named; cf. Dio LV. 13. 3. **alterum recognoscendi**, etc.: at their *transvectio* the *equites* were arranged in six *turmae;* see note to line 24, below. The 'board of three' employed for their *recognitiones* is not elsewhere mentioned. Suetonius seems to imply that its services were in demand only on special occasions.

8. quotiensque opus esset: for the mood see Introd. II. § 8. *h.*

9. Censores creari, etc.: for censorial functions exercised by Augustus himself see notes to page 61, line 31, and page 62, line 1. Although he refused the office of censor for life, the two censors whom he allowed to be elected in 22 B.C. did not exercise all the functions of the office; cf. Dio LIV. 2. 2 ff. They were the last private citizens even nominally to hold the office.

10. Numerum praetorum auxit: the number before Julius Caesar's time had been eight. Augustus raised this number to ten, the two additional praetors to preside over the treasury; cf. Dio LIII. 32. 2, and see note to page 67, line 32. On one occasion he allowed as many as sixteen praetors to hold office; cf. Dio LVI. 25. 4.

Chapter 38. Honorary Triumphs. Privileges of Senators' Sons. Review of Equites

16. iustos triumphos, etc.: a statement hardly consistent with that of *Aug.* 25. 3 regarding military awards or with that of *Tib.* 9. 2, where it is stated that Tiberius was the first to be granted *triumphalia ornamenta.* For the 'regular triumph' here mentioned and the 'triumphal regalia' see note to page 58, line 3. The latter were declined by Agrippa, while Tiberius was not allowed the triumph voted him in 12 B.C., but had to be content with the *triumphalia ornamenta;* cf. Dio LIV. 11. 6, 31. 4. If granted, these honors must have been special favors accorded later in the emperor's career.

19. protinus a virili toga, etc.: for this use of *a*, *immediately after the gown of manhood*, see Introd. II. § 5. *a.* (1). The broad purple stripe on their tunics would indicate the *ordo senatorius*, though they did not possess all the rights of senators, but might merely 'be present at meetings of the senate' (*curiae interesse*); see note to page 67, line 12. The *toga virilis* was usually assumed at sixteen years of age; but see note to page 60, line 21.

20. militiamque auspicantibus: *when they entered upon their military career;* cf. *Ner.* 22. 3, *cantare auspicatus.* At the same time they

were beginning their political career as *praefecti alarum* or *tribuni legionum laticlavii.* The military tribunes were staff officers of the *legati legionum.* The squadrons, *alae,* of cavalry still had their position on the wings of the army.

21. sed et : = *sed etiam* ; see Introd. II. § 6. *d.*

22. expers castrorum : see Introd. II. § 4. *a.* **laticlavios** : see Introd. II. § 3. *b.* In this new aristocracy created by Augustus the order of things was somewhat reversed. Only those who possessed the *latus clavus* were eligible to the magistracies; so only sons of senators and those honored by the emperor with the *latus clavus* could become magistrates and members of the senate.

24. Equitum turmas, etc. : the eighteen *centuriae* of *equites equo publico*, as combined by Augustus for purposes of *recognitio* and *transvectio*, were arranged in six *turmae*, or companies, each under the command of a *sevir.* Augustus revived the *transvectio*, or solemn procession, on July fifteenth, after long disuse. Formerly the ceremony of the *recognitio* was conducted by the censors. Cf. Dion. H., VI. 13. 1069; Dio LV. 31. 2; Liv. IX. 46. 15; Tac., *Ann.* II. 83. 5; and see Mommsen, *Röm. Staatsr.* III. 482 ff.

25. intercapedinem : *interruption* ; cf. *Vesp.* 10, *intercapedine iuris dictionis.*

26. detrahi : *be forced to dismount* ; lit. 'taken from (his horse)', as he rode by.

27. senio vel aliqua, etc. : *marked by their feebleness or some bodily defect.* The knights rode past in the imperial reviews, so that it was now a privilege to be allowed to come on foot 'to answer to their names' (*ad respondendum*), whereas in republican times the knights passed the censor leading their horses by the bridles.

30. reddendi equi gratiam fecit : *excused from (formally) surrendering their horses.* Those *equites* who were more than thirty-five years of age would be permitted to remain in the order without appearing in the ceremonial processions, and so without being liable to service in the senate if they possessed the senatorial census; cf. *Claud.* 24. 1, *Senatoriam dignitatem recusantibus equestrem quoque ademit* ; Dio LIV. 26. 8. For the phrase *gratiam fecit* see note to page 54, line 32. Consult Introd. II. § 9. *c.* (2). **maiores annorum quinque et triginta** : the genitive of quality is either not affected by the omission of *quam* after the comparative or else remains unchanged because it is used, by a Greek construction, for the ablative of comparison; cf. Vell. II. 80. 2, *amplius viginti legionum numero.* See Introd. II. § 4. *b.*

Chapter 39. Punishments of the Knights

Page 69. 1. rationem vitae reddere: the investigation into their private lives would precede the imperial review; cf. *Calig.* 16. 2: *Equites R. severe curioseque nec sine moderatione recognovit, palam adempto equo quibus aut probri aliquid aut ignominiae inesset, eorum qui minore culpa tenerentur nominibus modo in recitatione praeteritis.* **in exprobratis**: the reading of some later MSS., *ex improbatis*, seems preferable to that of Ihm. It may be translated: 'of those condemned as reprobates'.

2. notavit: refers to the *nota* (*censoria*) placed opposite a name on the lists. **plures admonitione, sed varia**: sc. *notavit*, by a zeugma; *to the larger number he administered reprimands, and that, too, with varying degrees of severity.* See Introd. II. § 10. *c*.

4. pugillarium: small tablets for memoranda, to be held in the closed hand (*pugnus*), made of leaves of wood or ivory and coated with wax, on which the Romans wrote with a *stilus*; cf. *Ner.* 52, *Venere in manus meas pugillares libellique;* Plin., *Ep.* I. 6. 1, *stilus et pugillares.* If these were handed to a knight publicly, they might not excite particular remark. **taciti et ibidem statim**: see Introd. II. § 10. *a*.

6. graviore faenore collocassent: *had invested at a higher rate of interest;* cf. *Tib.* 48. 1, *ut faeneratores duas patrimonii partes in solo collocarent;* Tac., *Ann.* VI. 17. 2, *faenoris partes in agris per Italiam conlocaret.*

Chapter 40. Knights made Tribunes. Grain Tickets and Bribery. Restrictions on Citizenship. Roman Dress

7. comitiis tribuniciis: *at the elections of tribunes;* see Introd. II. § 3. *c*. **candidati senatores**: for the use of *senatores* see Introd. II. § 2. *d*. See note to page 50, line 28, regarding those eligible to this office.

8. ex equitibus R.: sc. *eos;* Introd. II. § 10. *d*. (2). **ita ut potestate transacta**, etc.: *with the understanding that at the expiration of their office*, etc.; see Introd. II. § 8. *m*. A man became a life member of the senate through holding the tribuneship. But such membership was often avoided at this time; cf. Dio LIV. 26. 4, 30. 2.

9. Cum autem plerique, etc.: the *lex Roscia theatralis* (note to page 52, line 30) contained a clause which applied to bankrupt *equites;* but the *lex Iulia theatralis* had abolished the clause, so that Augustus merely revived this law. Cf. Plin., *N. H.* XXXIII. 2. 32: *constitutum ne*

cui ius esset nisi qui ingenuus ipse, patri, avo paterno HS. $\overline{\text{CCCC}}$ *census fuisset et lege Iulia theatrali in* XIIII *ordinibus sedisset.*

12. teneri ea: sc. *poena.*

14. Populi recensum vicatim egit: *he conducted an enumeration of the people by precincts;* not to be confused with the census of all citizens, since it was limited to the people residing at Rome: cf. *Jul.* 41. 3, and see note to page 63, line 23. **frumentationum causa**: *because of distributions of grain;* cf. page 71, line 16, *frumentationes publicas.*

16. quaternum mensium tesseras: sc. *frumentarias, grain tickets for four months each;* cf. *Ner.* 11. 2, *tesserae frumentariae.* These vouchers entitled the holders to their share of the corn. On page 70, line 28, *tesserae nummariae* are mentioned.

17. consuetudinem veterem, etc.: *he allowed a return to the old custom of receiving one's own (share) for each month.*

18. Comitiorum quoque, etc.: while nominally restoring the old election rights, Augustus still exercised as great power of nomination as did Julius; cf. *Jul.* 41. 2; Dio LIII. 21. 6 f. The popular assemblies were practically abolished at his death; cf. Tac., *Ann.* I. 15. 1 and see Mommsen, *Röm. Staatsr.* II^3. 916 f.

19. coercito ambitu: for the laws *de ambitu* see note to page 66, line 19. Augustus avoided prosecutions, but the measure of 8 B.C. required candidates to deposit a certain sum of money which should be forfeited if they were proved guilty of *ambitus;* cf. Dio LV. 5. 3.

20. Fabianis et Scaptiensibus tribulibus: *to his fellow-members of the Fabian and Scaptian tribes.* To the latter he belonged because of his connection with the Octavian family; to the former, on account of his adoption into the *gens Iulia.* The *tribus Fabia* was one of the most ancient tribes of Rome, while the *tribus Scaptia*, added in 332–331 B.C., was named from a Latin town of uncertain location.

21. singula milia nummum: *a thousand sesterces to a man;* cf. page 75, lines 6 f., *singula nummorum milia pro singulis dividebat.*

22. a se: = *de suo; from his own purse:* cf. page 8, line 22, *de suo;* page 74, line 5, *de suo offerebat.* See Introd. II. § 5. *a.* (4).

23. sincerum atque . . . incorruptum: *pure and unsullied from every taint of foreign and servile blood.* Alarmed at the mixed population of Rome, Augustus took the course opposite to that followed by his uncle Julius. Yet he, too, granted the *civitas* in certain cases; see page 75, lines 15 f. Cf. *Jul*, 24. 2, 42. 1, 76. 3; Dio (-Xiph.) LVI. 33. 3.

27. petenti: sc. *civitatem.* **non aliter se daturum**, etc.: *he would not grant it unless the client appeared in person and convinced him of the*

reasonableness of the grounds of his request; lit., 'how reasonable grounds he had'. Suetonius combines two equally correct forms of expression: *persuasisset iustas se causas habere* and *explicavisset quam iustas causas haberet.*

29. tributario: *from a tributary province.*

30. negavit, immunitatem: conjunction omitted; adversative asyndeton. See Introd. II. § 10. *f.* (4).

31. fisco: *his privy purse.* The word originally referred, perhaps, to the basket in which money was stored in the state treasury, but came to be used of the treasury of the *princeps* as distinguished from the *aerarium.* At the beginning of the principate there were, possibly, various *fisci,* though all were under a central control; cf. page 108, line 6, *in aerario et fiscis.* The revenues and taxes from imperial provinces, and in a measure from senatorial, from mines, legacies, customs, duties, etc., flowed into the *fiscus Caesaris* to be used for army and navy, provincial administration, a postal system, charity, roads, grain and water supply. The *princeps* was virtually a trustee of the wealth contained in the *fiscus.* See Mommsen, *Röm. Staatsr.* II[3]. 998 ff.

32. Servos non contentus, etc.: *not content with having placed many difficulties in the way to freedom for slaves, and far more in their way to perfect freedom.* Legally formal manumission conferred citizenship on slaves. But the manumittor must observe certain legal rules for it to be perfectly sound, *manumissio iusta.* Augustus laid down certain restrictions regarding the ages of manumittor and manumitted which determined whether *libertas iusta* should be obtained; cf. Dio LV. 13. 7. For the various kinds of manumission see Greenidge, *Rom. Publ. Life,* 134 ff.

Page 70. **2. removisse**: see Introd. II. § 9. *b.* (1).

4. vinctus umquam tortusve: slaves who had thus suffered for the grosser offenses during servitude became *dediticii,* in the same category with captive subjects, by the *lex Aelia Sentia* of 4 A.D.; cf. Justin., *Inst.* I. 5. 3. Otherwise they might ultimately obtain citizenship. But the law of Augustus was more stringent. **ne . . . adipisceretur**: see Introd. II. § 8. *l.*

6. habitum vestitumque pristinum: *the ancient fashion of dress;* hendiadys · see Introd. II. § 10. *i.*

7. pullatorum: *men in black cloaks, lacernae,* ordinarily worn over the toga on journeys and as a protection against the weather.

8. indignabundus: *indignantly;* cf. Liv. XXXVIII. 57. 7, *illa muliebriter indignabunda.* See Introd. II. § 1. *b* and II. § 3. *e.*

9. Romanos rerum, etc. : Verg., *Aen.* I. 282.

11. negotium : *directions.* **in foro circave**, etc. : *to take up a position in the Forum or its vicinity except in the toga and with cloaks laid aside;* cf. *Claud.* 6. 1 : *Equester ordo . . . et spectaculis advenienti assurgere et lacernas deponere solebat*, as a mark of respect to the emperor. Augustus considered negligence in matters of dress a sign of degeneracy.

Chapter 41. Benefactions

13. Liberalitatem : Augustus gives a detailed list of his benefactions in *M. A.* XV. 3. 7–XVIII. 3. 43.

14. invecta urbi : *invehere* is here followed by the dative, as in Tac., *Ann.* II. 23. 1 : *plures Caesar . . . Oceano invexit.* See Introd. II. § 4. *j.*

15. gaza : the royal treasure of the Ptolemies. Dio (LI. 21. 4 f.) describes the immediate effects of this immense influx of gold upon prices and interest.

16. plurimum agrorum pretiis accesserit : *the values of real estate were very greatly enhanced.*

18. usum eius gratuitum, etc. : *he granted the loan of it, without interest, for a fixed period to those who could give security for double the amount;* cf. Tac., *Ann.* VI. 17. 4 : *factaque mutuandi copia sine usuris per triennium, si debitor populo in duplum praediis cavisset.* The debtor was thus enabled to mortgage his land to the treasury, without interest on the loan, for a sum not in excess of half its value.

19. ad certum tempus : see Introd. II. § 5. *b.* (7).

21. duodecies sestertium taxavit, etc. : *he fixed it at one million two hundred thousand and made it up for those who did not possess the amount.* Mommsen (*Röm. Staatsr.* I³. 498 f.) prefers the statement of Dio (LIV. 17. 3) that Augustus at first raised the amount from an equestrian census, four hundred thousand sesterces, to one million sesterces.

22. Congiaria : see note to page 13, line 28. Cf. *Claud.* 21. 1 : *Congiaria populo saepius distribuit.*

23. modo . . . modo . . . nonnumquam : cf. page 90, lines 18 ff., *modo munera . . . modo nummos . . . interdum nihil*, etc.

24. nummos : *i.e. sestertios.* **ne minores quidem**, etc. : Augustus used every possible means to encourage large families.

28. viritim : see Introd. II. § 1. *f.* **tesserasque nummarias**, small tablets or round hollow balls of wood, marked with numbers.

Distributed to the people in lieu of money, they entitled the holders to the sums inscribed upon them. Cf. Dio LV. 26. 3, and see note to page 69, line 16.

Chapter 42. Largesses and Relief Measures

30. ut salubrem, etc. : *that one might know he was a prince more mindful of the public welfare than desirous of popularity.*

Page 71. **2. perductis pluribus aquis** : *by the construction of several aqueducts.* See note to page 63, line 22.

4. bonae se fidei esse : *he was a man of his word.*

9. insertosque civium numero : *and enrolled in the list of citizens;* that those who had freed them might receive the largess in return for which they had promised them their freedom. These men could lay no just claim to a share in the largess since they had not been citizens at the time it was promised.

12. Magna vero quondam, etc. : *once, indeed, at a time of great dearth when means of relief were difficult.*

13. cum venalicias, etc. : Dio (LV. 26. 1) gives a similar account of the famine of 6 A.D. *Familiae venaliciae et lanistarum* were 'troops of slaves to be offered for sale and schools of gladiators'.

14. medicis et praeceptoribus : the physicians and teachers at Rome were mostly Greeks and were shown great consideration if we may judge from the fact that Julius Caesar had granted them the *civitas;* cf. *Jul.* 42. 1, and note to page 22, line 1.

15. servitiorum : = *servorum*, abstract for concrete; cf. page 24, line 12, *servitia; Ner.* 22. 2, *inter servitia et sordidam plebem.* See Introd. II. § 2. *a.* **ut tandem annona convaluit** : *when grain at last became strong*, *i.e.* 'cheap'.

18. cessaret : *was being neglected.* The havoc wrought in rural districts by the allurements of city life had been increasing since the time of the Gracchi.

22. aratorum : *farmers;* while *populi* refers to the 'city populace'. **rationem deduceret** : *took account;* an illustration of our author's fondness for compound verbs where the simple verb would be more usual. *Ducere rationem alicuius* is the commoner phrase.

Chapter 43. Spectacles, Games, and Exhibitions

25. Fecisse se ludos, etc. : the statement is from *M. A.* XXII. 4. 35 f. : *Ludos feci meo nomine quater, aliorum autem magistratuum vicem ter*

et viciens. He exhibited games on September 24, 44 B.C., to celebrate the victories of Julius; cf. Dio XLV. 6. 4. In 2 B.C. occurred the *ludi Martiales* mentioned in the *M. A.* XXII. 4. 38. The Secular Games, as we have seen, were given in 17 B.C.; see note to page 64, line 25.

26. quater, pro aliis : antithesis strengthened by means of asyndeton; see Introd. II. § 10. *f.* (4).

27. non sufficerent : *lacked sufficient means.* The games were nevertheless given in the name of all such magistrates.

28. vicatim : *by precincts;* cf. page 19, line 30, where *regionatim* indicates the city's divisions at that time as contrasted with the change here denoted by *vicatim.* See note to page 63, line 23. On the form of the adverb see Introd. II. § 1. *f.*

29. per omnium linguarum histriones : an indication of the cosmopolitan character of the population of Rome; cf. page 19, lines 30 f. . . . : sc. *Munera, gladiatorial shows,* added by Perizonius to fill the lacuna. Roth would insert *circensibus ludis gladiatoriisque muneribus frequentissime editis interiecit plerumque bestiarum Africanarum venationes,* or the like, and he is supported by Mommsen (*Res Gest.* 94). Augustus himself says (*M. A.* XXII. 4. 31 ff.): *Ter munus gladiatorium dedi meo nomine et quinquiens filiorum meorum aut nepotum nomine; quibus muneribus depugnaverunt hominum circiter decem millia,* and mentions (XXII. 4. 39 ff.) his *Venationes bestiarum Africanarum . . . in circo aut in foro aut in amphitheatris . . . quibus confecta sunt bestiarum circiter tria millia et quingentae.* Cf. *Claud.* 21. 4.

30. amphitheatro : of Statilius Taurus; see note to page 63, line 21. Dio (LI. 23. 1) speaks of it as 'a stone theatre for hunting contests in the Campus Martius'.

31. Saeptis : not mentioned by Augustus in the *M. A.* XXII. 4. 31 ff. Dio (LV. 10. 7) speaks of 'a contest in armor in the *Saepta*'. Both Caligula and Claudius exhibited gladiatorial shows in the *Saepta Iulia,* in the Campus Martius, completed by Agrippa; cf. *Calig.* 18. 1; *Claud.* 21. 4; and see Platner, *Anc. Rome*², 384 ff., for the history of the structure. **venationem** : in these combats of wild beasts hundreds of lions, tigers and even crocodiles were exhibited to be slain by one another or by *bestiarii;* cf. *Claud.* 34. 2. Dio mentions (LIV. 26. 1) a combat at the dedication of the theater of Marcellus during which six hundred beasts from Libya were slain. Cf. Dio LV. 10. 7 f., LVI. 27. 5; *Jul.* 10. 1; and see note to page 5, line 10.

32. athletas : the character of these athletic contests may be judged

of from the statements in the twó following chapters. Evidently, professionals from both Italy and Greece participated in them.

Page 72. 1. **item**: see Introd. II. § 6. *h*. (2). **navale proelium**: in this naval spectacle was portrayed the combat of the Athenians and the Persians; cf. Dio LV. 10. 7. The dimensions of the *naumachia Augusti* were eighteen hundred (Roman) feet in length, twelve hundred in width. It was in the Transtiberine district and was supplied with water by the *aqua Alsietina*, built by Augustus for this purpose. Dio (LXVI. 25. 3) speaks of such a spectacle in the reign of Titus as occurring 'in the grove of Gaius and Lucius, which Augustus once had excavated for this very purpose': so that *nemus Caesarum*, a name taken directly from *M. A.* XXIII. 4. 44, was later applied to the site of the *naumachia* itself as well as to the adjacent grove between the lake and the river. Cf. Tac., *Ann.* XII. 56. 1, and see Platner, *Anc. Rome*², 513.

3. **ne raritate remanentium**, etc.: immense audiences attended these spectacles; cf. *Jul.* 39. 4. See Introd. II. § 3. *a*.

6. **iuventute**: = *iuvenibus;* Introd. II. § 2. *a*. **Troiae lusum**: see note to page 20, line 9. Augustus certainly twice celebrated the 'game of Troy': in 33 B.C. (Dio XLIX. 43. 3), the occasion on which Tiberius was *ductor turmae puerorum maiorum* (*Tib.* 6. 4), and at the dedication of the theater of Marcellus in 13 B.C., when Gaius took a prominent part; see Dio LIV. 26. 1. Cf. *Claud.* 21. 3.

7. **prisci decorique moris existimans**: sc. *esse; thinking it a time-honored and fitting custom;* see Introd. II. § 10. *d*. (1).

9. **Nonium Asprenatem**: the intimate friend of Augustus, probably, who is mentioned in *Aug.* 56. 3. A Lucius Nonius Asprenas was *consul suffectus* in 6 A.D.; cf. Tac., *Ann.* I. 53. 9, and see Furneaux's note.

11. **Torquati**: the *torques* has been noted as a genuine military award; see note to page 59, line 20. Cf. *Calig.* 35. 1: *Vetera familiarum insignia nobilissimo cuique ademit, Torquato torquem*, etc.

12. **Asinio Pollione**: see note to page 63, line 20.

13. **Aeserniui**: Aeserninus Marcellus, son of the consul of 22 B.C. and grandson of Pollio through his mother Asinia; cf. Tac., *Ann.* III. 11. 2, with Furneaux's note.

15. **Ad scaenicas quoque**, etc.: *for services on the stage and in gladiatorial shows;* cf. Tac., *Ann.* XIV. 14. 6: *Notos quoque equites Romanos operas arenae promittere subegit donis ingentibus.* **equitibus Romanis**, etc.: we read of Laberius and one or two decayed nobles who were thus exhibited under Julius; cf. *Jul.* 39. 1 f. Augustus usually

observed the senatorial decree of 22 B.C. which was directed at such practices; cf. Dio LIV. 2. 5. But isolated cases of such degradation are recorded; *e.g.* at the games of Marcellus in 23 B.C.: cf. Dio LIII. 31. 3. Dio (LVI. 25. 7) cites an instance, in the year 11 A.D., of knights who preferred the arena to assured punishment.

17. nihil . . . honeste natum: *not a single one of noble birth;* stronger than *nullum* or *neminem*.

19. tantum ut ostenderet: *solely for the purpose of exhibiting him* (sc. *eum*); see Introd. II. § 10. *d.* (2). The clause is parenthetical.

20. librarum . . . vocis: the same genitive of quality, so-called, expresses the two ideas of measure (of weight) and a physical characteristic; cf. line 27, *cubitorum*, and see Introd. II. § 4. *b*.

21. Parthorum obsides: see note to page 57, line 30.

22. missos: *i.e.* to Rome. **ad spectaculum**: *with a view to display;* see Introd. II. § 5. *b*. (6).

24. citra: *outside;* see note to page 58, line 32, and Introd. II. § 5. *g*. (1).

25. id extra ordinem, etc.: *to make a special public exhibition of it in the first convenient place.*

26. apud Saepta: see Introd. II. § 5. *e*.

29. votivis circensibus: *at the time of the games he had vowed to give in the circus.*

30. tensas deduceret: *led the sacred procession;* cf. page 87, line 30, *tensam et ferculum circensi pompa*, and note. **commissione ludorum**: *at the opening of the games;* cf. *Galb.* 6. 1, for the same expression; *Claud.* 21. 1, *Ludos . . . commisit.*

31. theatrum Marcelli: see note to page 63, line 15.

Page 73. 1. Nepotum . . . munere: *at the show for his grandsons; i.e.* Germanicus, son of the elder Drusus, and Drusus, son of Tiberius. Cf. *M. A.* XXII. 4. 31 f.: *Ter munus gladiatorium dedi meo nomine et quinquiens filiorum meorum aut nepotum nomine.*

Chapter 44. Theatrical Regulations

6. Puteolis: modern Pozzuoli, where are still to be seen the interesting ruins of a large amphitheater.

7. per celeberrimos, etc.: *no one had offered a seat at a crowded gathering during largely attended games.* See Introd. II. § 5. *n*. (2).

10. vacaret senatoribus: the privilege long enjoyed in the theaters evidently did not apply to the circus even at Rome before the year 5 A.D.;

cf. Dio LV. 22. 4. The regulation required renewal under Claudius; cf. *Claud.* 21. 3: *Circo . . . exculto propria senatoribus constituit loca promiscue spectare solitis.* **legatos liberarum**, etc.: but this prohibition had been superseded by Nero's time, at least when the envoys were to be paid marked honor; cf. Tac., *Ann.* XIII. 54. 5.

13. Militem: = *milites;* Introd. II. § 2. *b.* **Maritis e plebe**: *married men of the common people; i.e.* below the equestrian census; cf. Hor., *Ep.* I. 1. 58 f.: *Sed quadringentis sex septem milia desunt; Plebs eris.*

14. praetextatis: boys who still wore the *toga praetexta* and were accompanied by their *paedagogi*, 'preceptors', to lecture halls and public places of amusement; cf. Hor., *Sat.* I. 6. 81 f. See Introd. II. § 3. *a.*

15. pullatorum: see note to page 70, line 7. **media cavea**: the auditorium was divided horizontally, by *praecinctiones*, into the lowest tier of seats, *ima* or *prima cavea*, then the *media cavea*, and then the *summa* or *ultima cavea.* For the locative ablative without a preposition see Introd. II. § 4. *r.*

17. promiscue: *in common* with the men. Even before this time women had sat in the upper seats at the theater and at shows in the amphitheater and circus.

18. spectare concessit: see Introd. II. § 9. *b.* (1).

19. contra praetoris tribunal: *facing the praetor's tribunal;* see Introd. II. § 5. *h.* (1). This *tribunal* was an elevated seat in the orchestra to the left of the *scaena*, regularly occupied by the praetor as *editor ludorum;* cf. *Claud.* 21. 1, *e tribunali posito in orchestra.*

20. muliebre secus omne: *the entire female sex;* cf. Tac., *Ann.* IV. 62. 3, *virile ac muliebre secus. Secus* is indeclinable. The restriction was due to the nude condition of the athletes. Nero invited the Vestals to athletic contests *quia Olympiae quoque Cereris sacerdotibus spectare conceditur;* cf. *Ner.* 12. 4.

21. pontificalibus ludis: supposed to be the games given at the time Augustus became *pontifex maximus;* see note to page 64, line 6.

23. ante horam quintam: there was a recess for the *prandium* at all games at about this hour. Cf. *Claud.* 34. 2: *Bestiaris meridianisque adeo delectabatur ut et prima luce ad spectaculum descenderet et meridie dimisso ad prandium populo persederet.*

Chapter 45. Attendance at Public Spectacles. Rewards and Punishments of Public Performers

25. cenaculis: *upper rooms*, apparently, of houses that overlooked the circus. Dio (LVII. 11. 5) makes a similar statement regarding

Tiberius: 'And he would often view in person, also, the contests of the knights from a house of one of his freedmen.' Cf. Varr., *L. L.* V. 33. 162: *Posteaquam in superiore parte cenitare coeperunt, superioris domus universa cenacula dicta.* See note to page 92, line 4, *cenaculo.*

26. pulvinari: originally referred to the sacred couch of a god in the *lectisternium.* The honor of such a couch was granted to Julius Caesar; cf. page 37, line 32. The word was later used, as here, of the imperial box, reserved for the emperor and his family, in full view of the spectators; cf. *Claud.* 4. 3: *Spectare eum circenses ex pulvinari non placet nobis*, an extract from a letter of Augustus. A *pulvinar ad circum maximum* was erected on the Palatine side of the circus at the time of the restoration following the fire of 31 B.C.; cf. *M.A.* XIX. 4. 4, and see Platner, *Anc. Rome*², 405.

27. Spectaculo: for this use of the ablative after *aberat* see Introd. II. § 4. *u.*

28. petita venia: *asking to be excused, making his excuses;* because the emperor's presence was always desired by the populace.

29. qui suam vicem, etc.: sc. *eis; men to fill his place as presiding officer* (lit. 'in presiding'): see Introd. II. § 10. *d.* (2). For the case of *vicem* see note to page 67, line 15. Claudius *praesedit . . . nonnumquam spectaculis in Gai vicem;* cf. *Claud.* 7.

32. inter spectandum: see Introd. II. § 9. *c.* (1). **epistulis libellisque**, etc.: *devoted his time to reading or answering letters and petitions.* We have an instance of such an imperial *rescriptum* in *Aug.* 40. 3. Cf. *Tib.* 32. 2: *Praesidibus onerandas tributo provincias suadentibus rescripsit boni pastoris esse tondere pecus, non deglubere.* See Introd. II. § 4. *g.*

Page 74. 2. neque . . . umquam et: = *et . . . numquam et.*

5. de suo: cf. *a se*, page 69, line 22, and note. **Graeco certamini**: *contest in the Greek manner; i.e.* produced at Rome in the Greek language, dress and manner, even with Greek professionals as participants. It could hardly mean 'a contest in Greece' in this context.

7. honorarit: *present (with a gift);* cf. Vell. II. 61. 3, *Eum . . . honoratum equestri statua.*

8. non legitimos, etc.: *not only those who were regularly classed as such; i.e.* recognized professionals as opposed to *catervarios oppidanos, ordinary crowds of townspeople*, in line 10, below. Cf. *Calig.* 18. 1, *catervas Afrorum Campanorumque pugilum.* For *catervarios* see Introd. II. § 1. *b.*

10. inter angustias vicorum: *in the narrow streets;* cf. *Ner.* 38. 1, *angustiis flexurisque vicorum.*

12. operas aliquas, etc.: *those who rendered any services at a public performance;* cf. page 72, line 15, and note.

14. sine missione: *without* (*the right of appeal for*) *quarter.* See note to page 13, line 10.

15. coercitionem in histriones: *the power of chastising actors;* of which the magistrates were now deprived except at the actual time (*ludis*) and place (*scaena*). The license of the *histriones* became so great under Tiberius, Tacitus (*Ann.* I. 77. 2) says, that certain senators moved *ut praetoribus ius virgarum in histriones esset.*

17. xysticorum: *athletes;* a word formed from the Greek ξυστός, a covered portico where the athletes practiced in winter; cf. Vitruv. V. 11. 4, VI. 7. 5. *Xystici* occurs in this sense in *Galb.* 15. 1. For another meaning of *xystus* see note to page 89, line 19. Cf. Introd. II. § 1. *d.*

18. severissime . . . exegit: *was very severe in his exactions regarding.*

20. togatarium: *an actor in 'fabulae togatae'*, comedies representing Roman life, dress and manners, as distinguished from *fabulae palliatae* (*e.g.* of Plautus and Terence) depicting scenes from Greek life. The word is cited only for this passage; see Introd. II. § 1. *a.* This actor may be the Stephanio mentioned by Pliny, *N. H.* VII. 48. 159: *Minus miror Stephanionem, qui primus togatus saltare instituit, utrisque saecularibus ludis saltavisse, divi Augusti et quos Claudius Caesar consulatu suo quarto fecit, quando LXIII non amplius anni interfuere, quamquam et postea diu vixit.* **in puerilem habitum circumtonsam**: *with hair cut short to look like a boy;* see Introd. II. § 5. *k.* (1). (*a*). The offense consisted in a matron's appearing at all on the Roman stage.

21. per trina theatra: those of Pompey, Balbus and Marcellus. Note the distributive, *trina*, where the cardinal, *tria*, would be more usual.

22. relegaverit: Tiberius banished actors, also, for their license; cf. *Tib.* 37. 2: *histriones, propter quos dissidebatur, relegavit nec ut revocaret umquam ullis populi precibus potuit evinci.* **Hylan pantomimum**: a performer in the representation of some dramatic subject by means of dancing and rhythmic gesticulation alone. The pantomime was raised to an independent branch of art under Augustus by the actors Pylades and Bathyllus; cf. Dio LIV. 17. 4 f. Hylas was a pupil of Pylades; cf. Macr., *Sat.* II. 7. 13.

24. summoverit: but afterwards recalled him; cf. Dio LIV. 17. 4.

25. demonstrasset digito: doubtless by thrusting out the middle

finger, *digitus infamis*, in mocking and indecent gesture; considered a gross insult among both Greeks and Romans: cf. *Calig.* 56. 2, *manum offerre formatam commotamque in obscaenum modum.*

Chapter 46. Establishment of Colonies in Italy. Treatment of Colonists

27. Ad hunc modum: *ad = secundum;* see Introd. II. § 5. *b.* (5).

28. Italiam . . . frequentavit: *filled Italy with the population of twenty-eight colonies that were established by him.* Mommsen gives a list of these *coloniae;* cf. *Res Gest.* 123. These settlements, largely of veterans, were principally determined by the facilities afforded for acquiring new lands for the *coloni*, whether colonies had formerly been established in the chosen places or not. Thirteen of these Italian colonies are known to have existed previously; cf. Shuckburgh, *Augustus*, 133. Among the new colonies were *Augusta Praetoria* (modern Aosta), *Atesta* (modern Este), *Brixia* (modern Brescia), *Iulia Augusta Taurinorum* (modern Turin).

30. plurifariam: see Introd. II. § 1. *b.*

31. quodam modo pro parte aliqua: *after a fashion in some respects;* pleonastic. See Introd. II. § 10. *e.*

32. de magistratibus urbicis: *for the city magistrates; i.e.* candidates for office in Rome. *Urbicis = urbis;* see Introd. II. § 3. *c.* **decuriones colonici**: *members of the senate in the colonies.* See note to page 47, line 2.

Page 75. **1. sub die comitiorum**: *against the day of the elections.*

4. equestrem militiam: *the military career of a knight.*

5. ordinabat: *appointed to commands.* These posts, usually open only to knights, were those of *tribunus cohortis*, *praefectus alae* and *tribunus legionis.* Through service in these commands they would be in line, if they so desired, for political offices, beginning with the quaestorship. With this use of *ordinare* compare that on page 38, line 11, *magistratus . . . ordinavit.* **e plebe**: note position after *qui* instead of after *iis.*

6. regiones: applies both to the fourteen *regiones* of the city and to the eleven *regiones*, 'districts', into which Augustus divided Italy. This division of Italy into *regiones* facilitated the taking of the census and was little altered till Constantine's time. Cf. Plin., *N. H.* III. 5. 46, and see Marq., *Röm. Staatsv.* I². 219 ff. and Smith, *Dict. of Antiq. s. v. Italia.* The vagueness of reference in our passage may be intentional. **filios**

filiasve approbarent: *established (the legitimacy of) their sons or daughters to his satisfaction.*

Chapter 47. Division of Provinces. Treaty States. Provinces Visited

8. Provincias validiores, etc.: the provinces were divided between *princeps* and senate. Those requiring large military forces were governed by Caesar's deputies with consular or praetorian rank, *legati Augusti pro praetore*, appointed by him alone and holding office at his pleasure. The rest were still to be governed by proconsuls selected under the supervision of the senate from the ex-praetors and ex-consuls. In provinces of both classes were procurators appointed by the emperor and possessed of authority over the finances independent of the *legatus* or *proconsul*. For a list of all the provinces, with dates of transfer, see Shuckburgh, *Augustus*, 148, note 1. Compare note to page 56, line 2. Characteristic of our author's style are the collocation, *validiores et quas*, and the adversative asyndeton after *suscepit*. See Introd. II. § 10. *a* and II. § 10. *f*. (4).

10. sortito: see Introd. II. § 9. *a*. (4).

11. commutavit: *i.e.* from the one class to the other. See references in note to line 8, above.

12. foederatas: federate towns in the provinces had, of course, made treaties with Rome before the formation of the provinces themselves. They possessed certain privileges in the way of exemptions and independent control of their own affairs which the ordinary provincial town did not share. Among these were Athens, Rhodes and Tyre.

13. ad exitium licentia praecipites: *rushing headlong on to ruin because of their lawlessness.* **libertate privavit**: Dio (LIV. 7. 6) speaks of Cyzicus, Tyre and Sidon in this connection, but says (LIV. 23. 7) that the Cyzicenes had their freedom restored in 15 B.C.

14. aere alieno laborantis: *oppressed by debt.*

16. Latinitate vel civitate: *Latinitas*, or *Ius Latii*, in the early empire designated a status between that of *cives* and that of *peregrini*. Where a municipality possessed *minus ius Latii*, all its magistrates were *ipso facto* Roman citizens; where *maius ius Latii*, both *decuriones* and magistrates were possessed of *civitas*.

17. Africa et Sardinia: a visit to Africa with his uncle Julius in 45 B.C., as stated by Nicolas of Damascus (*Vit. Aug.* 11 f.), would hardly count in this connection. Augustus might have thought it advisable, however, to visit that province after Lepidus had been deprived of it.

Sardinia and Corsica, long in Sextus Pompeius's power, were betrayed to Augustus in 38 B.C. by Pompey's freedman, Menodorus; cf. App., *B. C.* V. 78. 330–80. 341.

18. traicere . . . apparantem: poetic usage; cf. Plaut., *Asin.* 434: *Vah, delenire apparas.* See Introd. II. § 9. *b.* (1).

20. mox: see Introd. II. § 6. *i.*

Chapter 48. Client Kings

22. alienigenis contribuit: *united them with (other) foreign (nations). Contribuere* is thus technically used of annexing one people to another; cf. Liv. XXXIII. 34. 8, *Phocenses Locrensesque . . . iis contribuerunt;* Liv. XXXIX. 26. 2, *Xynias . . . sibi eos contribuisse.*

23. Reges socios: Armenia affords a good example of dealings with client kings; cf. *M. A.* XXVII. 5. 24 ff., and see Mommsen, *Res Gest.* 109 ff.

24. promptissimus affinitatis, etc.: *most ready to promote and maintain every intermarriage and friendship.* Antony charged Augustus with having offered his own daughter Julia in marriage to Cotiso, king of the Getae; cf. *Aug.* 63. 2.

25. nec aliter universos, etc.; *and he treated them all just as* (lit. *not otherwise than*) *members and parts of the empire;* cf. Cic., *ad Fam.* VIII. 8. 10: *eos tibi et rem de qua misi velim curae habeas.*

27. aetate parvis aut mente lapsis: *for those of tender years or bereft of their senses.* With *mente lapsis*, compare Cels. V. 26. 13: *quaedam mente labuntur.*

Chapter 49. Military Forces. Military Chest. Postal System

31. legiones et auxilia: in imperial times *auxilia* were all the troops in the provinces excepting the *legiones.* The number of auxiliary troops was similar to that of the legions. See Marquardt, *Röm. Staatsv.* II². 462 ff. **provinciatim**: *province by province;* first found here: see Introd. II. § 1. *f.* For the number of legions at the disposal of Augustus see Mommsen, *Res Gest.* 67 ff. and note to page 58, line 21.

32. classem Miseni, etc.: cf. Tac., *Ann.* IV. 5. 1: *Italiam utroque mari duae classes, Misenum apud et Ravennam, proximumque Galliae litus rostratae naves praesidebant, quas Actiaca victoria captas Augustus in oppidum Foroiuliense miserat valido cum remige.* See Marquardt, *Röm. Staatsv.* II². 443 ff. and note to page 53, line 22.

Page 76. **1. ceterum numerum**: *the remaining number; i.e.* of men under arms after deducting those in the legions, the auxiliaries and the fleet. These were the nine *cohortes praetorianae* and the three *cohortes urbanae.* Cf. Dio LV. 24. 6: 'His body-guard were ten thousand men and were arranged in ten parts and the city guard were six thousand and were distributed in four parts.' For the numbers under Tiberius see Tac., *Ann.* IV. 5. 5. See Marquardt, *Röm. Staatsv.* II². 475 ff.

3. Calagurritanorum: from Calagurris Nassica, modern Calahorra, in Hispania Tarraconensis; cf. page 44, line 31, *custodias Hispanorum.*

4. Germanorum: Dio (LVI. 23. 4) speaks of 'large numbers of Gauls and Celts at Rome, some staying there for a different reason, others in service in the guard', who were expelled from the city, in 10 A.D., to islands or elsewhere. Shuckburgh thinks these *Germani* were Batavians, and cites Dio LV. 24. 7, where mention is made of 'picked mercenary cavalrymen' from Batavia; see his note to this passage.

6. tres cohortes: the praetorian cohorts stationed on guard at the imperial palace. They were billeted in various parts of the city until stationed, under Tiberius, in the *castra praetoria* in the northeastern part of the city between the Viminal and the Colline gates; cf. Tib. 37. 1: *Romae castra constituit, quibus praetorianae cohortes vagae ante id tempus et per hospitia dispersae continerentur;* Tac., *Ann.* IV. 2. 1. See Platner, *Anc. Rome*², 499 f.

8. Quidquid . . . militum esset: see Introd. II. § 4. *e* and II. § 8. *h*.

9. ad certam stipendiorum, etc.: legionary soldiers were to be discharged with gratuities (*commodis missionum*) after a term of service originally, in 13 B.C., fixed at sixteen and later, in 5 A.D., at twenty years. The term of service for praetorians was at first twelve and later sixteen years. Cf. Dio LIV. 25. 6, LV. 23. 1; *M. A.* XVII. 3. 36 ff.

14. ad tuendos eos prosequendosque: *for their maintenance and the bestowal of rewards upon them;* cf. page 13, line 28, *uberrimo congiario prosequebatur;* page 84, line 11, *virtutes ac merita cuiusque digne prosecutus.*

15. aerarium militare: established in 6 A.D. to provide for the veterans and replenished from the emperor's own private fortune as well as by a permanent income from the five per cent inheritance tax (*vicesima hereditatum et legatorum*) and a one per cent excise on sales (*centesima rerum venalium*). It was managed by three *praefecti aerarii militaris* selected by lot, under Augustus, for a term of three years, from senators of praetorian rank. Later, the emperor appointed them; cf. Dio LV.

25. 2, 3, 5; Tac., *Ann.* I. 78. 2. Augustus thus describes its institution (*M. A.* XVII. 3. 35 ff.): *M. Lepido et L. Arruntio cos. in aerarium militare, quod ex consilio meo constitutum est, ex quo praemia darentur militibus qui vicena aut plura stipendia emeruissent, HS. milliens et septingentiens ex patrimonio meo detuli.*

16. sub manum: *immediately, on the instant;* cf. Cic., *ad Fam.* X. 23. 2, *Vocontii sub manu ut essent*, where *sub manu* is used in a local sense.

17. iuvenes primo, etc.: the system of *tabellarii* and *stratores* of republican times was now organized and developed by Augustus through the appointment of mounted couriers, *stratores* or *speculatores*, to be employed along the principal roads. Stations, *mutationes* and *mansiones*, were instituted at which they might relieve one another and spend the night. This arrangement was later supplemented by a transport system for the conveyance of money and other valuables. The *vehicula* were the light, two-wheeled *cisia* drawn by mules. Cf. *Calig.* 44. 2, *magnificas Romam litteras misit, monitis speculatoribus ut vehiculo ad forum usque et curiam pertenderent.* See Smith, *Dict. of Antiq. s.v. cursus publicus.*

19. ut: *inasmuch as ;* introduces *possint*, which is used with potential force: see Introd. II. § 8. *a.*

Chapter 50. Seal of the Emperor

22. diplomatibus: *diploma* (= δίπλωμα), at first any document on a tablet of two leaves, came to be used particularly of those state documents which assured to the holders the use of the public post in the provinces and other privileges, as well; our 'passport'. Cf. *Calig.* 38. 1, *Divorum Iuli et Augusti diplomata; Ner.* 12.1, *diplomata civitatis Romanae singulis optulit.* The name and seal of the emperor were quite essential on these passports. **libellis**: *petitions;* see note to page 73, line 32: cf. page 78, line 11, *libellum.*

23. sphinge usus est: cf. Plin., *N. H.* XXXVII. 1. 10: *Divos Augustus inter initia sphinge signavit. Duas in matris anulis eas indiscretae similitudinis invenerat. Altera per bella civilia absente ipso amici signavere epistulas et edicta quae ratio temporum nomine eius reddi postulabat, non inficeto lepore accipientium, aenigmata adferre eam sphingem. . . . Augustus postea ad evitanda convicia sphingis Alexandri Magni imagine signavit.* The sphinx was a symbol of silence. Cf. Dio LI. 3. 6, where it is stated that the seals were made in duplicate.

24. Dioscuridis : cf. Plin., *N. H.* XXXVII. 1. 8 : *Post eum Apollonides et Cronius in gloria fuere quique divi Augusti imaginem simillime expressit, qua postea principes signant, Dioscurides.* See Pauly-Wissowa, *Real Encycl.* (new ed.), IX. 1143. **qua signare**, etc. : with the exception of Galba ; cf. Dio LI. 3. 7.

26. horarum . . . momenta : *the exact hour; momenta* being used for closer definition of *horarum :* cf. Hor., *Sat.* I. 1. 7 f., *horae momento*, where *horae* = *temporis.*

27. quibus datae significarentur : *to indicate the precise hours at which they had been written.* For this use of *dare* (*litteras*) compare Cic., *ad Att.* V. 11. 1 : *Hui, totiensne me litteras dedisse Romam, cum ad te nullas darem? At vero posthac frustra potius dabo quam, si recte dari potuerint, committam ut non dem.*

Chapter 51. Clemency and Tolerance of Personal Abuse

28. Clementiae civilitatisque, etc. : cf. Eutrop. VII. 8. 4 ; XLIV. *annis quibus solus gessit imperium civilissime vixit, in cunctos liberalissimus, in amicos fidissimus, quos tantis evexit honoribus ut paene aequaret fastigio suo.* That Augustus prided himself on his 'clemency and moderation' may be seen from his mention of the inscription on the golden shield presented to him (*M. A.* XXXIV. 6. 19 ff.) : *virtutis clementiae iustitiae pietatis causa. Civilitas* is rare in any sense. Suetonius uses it again to mean 'affability' or 'moderation' in *Claud.* 35. 1, *iactator civilitatis.* See Introd. II. § 1. *b.* The severe measures of his early years should be contrasted with this statement ; see *Aug.* 13. 1 f., 27. 1 ff.

29. Ne enumerem, etc. : see Introd. II. § 10. *l.* **quot et quos**, etc. : *the number and names of those of the opposite party who were pardoned and saved.*

31. Iunium . . . Patavinum : men 'of the commonalty' (*e plebe*) not otherwise known.

Page 77. **1. Agrippae** : Agrippa Postumus ; see note to page 56, line 21.

2. asperrimam de se epistulam : see Introd. II. § 5. *t.* **in vulgus edidisset** : *had circulated broadcast.*

3. convivio pleno : *at a largely attended banquet;* cf. page 25, line 8 ; page 91, line 11. **neque votum sibi**, etc. : *he wanted neither the desire nor the heart to stab him to death;* cf. page 42, line 21, *tribus et viginti plagis confossus est.*

5. cognitione: relates to the hearing of a case by the emperor, as distinguished from the ordinary courts. Cf. *Claud.* 15. 1, *negantemque cognitionis rem sed ordinarii iuris esse;* while in *Claud.* 12. 1 we read: *Cognitionibus magistratuum ut unus e consiliariis frequenter interfuit.* **Cordubensi**: *of Corduba*, modern Cordova, the capital of Hispania Baetica, a Roman colony since 152 B.C. and birthplace of the two Senecas and of Lucan. Nothing is known of the resident here mentioned.

6. male opinari: *express a bad opinion;* cf. page 85, line 17, *gravissime de se opinantem; Calig.* 27. 3, *male de munere suo opinatos.*

7. commotoque similis: see Introd. II. § 3. *a* and II. § 4. *i.*

8. faciam sciat Aelianus: *I'll have Aelianus know, give Aelianus to understand.*

13. Aetati tuae: with *indulgere, give way to (the ardor of) your youth;* cf. *Claud.* 16. 1, *ut aut parcius aetatulae indulgeret aut certe cautius.*

16. si hoc habemus, etc.: *if we are able to keep any one from doing evil to us. Hoc* anticipates the final clause.

Chapter 52. Temples to Augustus. He Declines the Dictatorship

19. nisi communi suo Romaeque nomine: cf. Tac., *Ann.* IV. 37. 4, where these words are put into the mouth of Tiberius: *Cum divus Augustus sibi atque urbi Romae templum apud Pergamum sisti non prohibuisset, . . . placitum iam exemplum promptius secutus sum.* The temple at Pergamum dates from 29 B.C. Cf. Dio LI. 20. 7.

20. in urbe: Dio (LI. 20. 8) states that this held true for Italy, also. But such shrines were to be seen in Rome and elsewhere after his death; cf. Tac., *Ann.* I. 10. 8; Dio LVI. 46. 3.

21. argenteas statuas, etc.: Augustus had forbidden the Athenians to erect such statues of any citizen; cf. Dio LIV. 7. 2, LIII. 22. 3.

22. exque iis: *and (with the money coined) from them.* Cf. *M. A.* XXIV. 4. 51 ff.: *Statuae meae pedestres et equestres et in quadrigeis argenteae steterunt in urbe* XXC *circiter, quas ipse sustuli exque ea pecunia dona aurea in aede Apollinis meo nomine et illorum qui mihi statuarum honorem habuerunt posui.* Wölfflin, in *Arch. f. Lat. Lexikogr.* XIII (1903), 193 ff., has shown *exque ea* and *exque eis* to be archaic and taken from the older formulas. Augustus himself preferred such turns of phrase and Suetonius seems to show direct use of the *Res Gestae* in this passage. See W. Fürst, *Suetons Verhältniss zu der Denkschr. d. Augustus*, 13 f. Cf. Introd. II. § 6. *k.*

23. cortinas: *cortina*, 'kettle', 'cauldron', from its use at Delphi came to be used for 'tripod', while strictly applicable only to the vessel forming the body of the tripod; cf. Verg., *Aen.* III. 92, *mugire adytis cortina reclusis.* Here the word is applied to tripods used for sacred offerings. **Apollini Palatino**: see note to page 62, line 25.

24. Dictaturam magna vi, etc.: this was in keeping with Augustus's fixed principle of observing in outward appearance, at least, the constitutional forms of republican times; cf. *M. A.* V. 1. 31 f. and (Gr.) VIII. 5. 3 ff.; Dio LIV. 1. 3 f.; Vell. II. 89. 5. This happened in 22 B.C. on the occasion of a great famine. **genu nixus**, etc.: note the asyndeton; see Introd. II. § 10. *f.* (5).

Chapter 53. Dislike of Adulation. Courtesies and Kindness to Commons and Senate

26. Domini appellationem: *the title, 'lord'*; see Introd. II. § 4. *f.* In republican times *dominus*, 'master', expressed the relation between master and slaves. It may still have borne the connotation, also, of despotic rule. Tiberius also considered the title as *contumeliae causa;* cf. *Tib.* 27; Dio (-Xiph.) LV. 12. 2. It was first adopted by Caligula and Domitian. In later times it was used in respectful greeting, like 'Sir' or 'Sire'; cf. *Claud.* 21. 5, *dominos identidem appellans.*

28. in mimo: contrary to the usual rule of the Roman stage, political criticism was permitted in these farces, which were acted, without mask and buskins, in front of the curtain as a kind of afterpiece and were largely made up of horseplay and dancing of an indecent character.

30. quasi de ipso dictum: audiences were quick to catch at allusions in the mimes and apply them to the topics of the town; cf. page 86, lines 3 ff.; *Ner.* 39. 3.

Page 78. **3. serio . . . ioco**: see Introd. II. § 4. *s.*

4. Non temere: see note to page 54, line 6.

6. vespera: *in the evening;* adverbial. **ne quem**, etc.: in 30 B.C. it was voted that Vestals, senate and people, including women and children, should go out to meet Augustus when he was to enter the city; cf. Dio LI. 19. 2. He avoided such a public demonstration, however, in 13 B.C. by entering the city at night; 'just as he was always wont to do, in a word, on setting out as well as upon his return', Dio (LIV. 25. 4) says, 'whether he left the city for the suburbs or for some other place, in order to avoid causing annoyance to any of them'. For use of

inquietare compare *Calig.* 26. 4, *Inquietatus fremitu; Ner.* 34. 1, *qui . . . litibus . . . inquietarent.* **officii causa**: *for the sake of a ceremonial obligation, for ceremony's sake.*

7. **In consulatu**: see Introd. II. § 5. *k.* (2). (*a*).

8. **adoperta sella**, etc.: *passed through the public thoroughfare in a closed sedan chair;* so that he might pass unobserved and without troubling any one to pay his respects. In the *sella*, the rider sat; in the *lectica*, he reclined. They are distinguished in *Claud.* 25. 2: *Viatores ne per Italiae oppida nisi aut pedibus aut sella aut lectica transirent monuit edicto.* Cf. *Ner.* 9: *lectica per publicum simul vectus est.* See J. C. Rolfe in *Proc. Am. Phil. Assn.* XLIV (1913), pages XLVIII f., where it is noted that this passage contains the sole reference to Augustus's riding in a *sella*, while there are seven references to his use of the *lectica*. It is, of course, not impossible that Suetonius here uses *sella* for *lectica*. **Promiscuis salutationibus**: *to his morning receptions, which were open to all.* See note to page 61, line 21.

11. **quasi elephanto stipem**: *as if it were a penny (he was giving) to an elephant.* Cf. Macr., *Sat.* II. 4. 3: *Idem Augustus cum ei quidam libellum trepidus offerret et modo proferret manum modo retraheret, Putas, inquit, te assem elephanto dare?*

12. **numquam patres nisi in curia**: *i.e.* they no longer attended his morning levees; cf. Dio LIV. 25. 4 f., LVI. 41. 5. For the opposite treatment of the senate, see *Jul.* 78. 1 f.

14. **nullo submonente**: *without any one's prompting him; i.e.* without the aid of a *nomenclator:* see note to page 56, line 19.

15. **Officia cum multis**, etc.: *he exchanged social calls with many persons.*

16. **dies cuiusque sollemnes frequentare**: *observe all their anniversaries. Frequentare* is used here of one person as in *Tib.* 32. 1, *Quorundam illustrium exequias usque ad rogum frequentavit;* Tac., *Ann.* XIV. 4. 1, *festos dies apud Baias frequentabat.*

17. **quam grandior**: with *prius* in preceding line; see Introd. II. § 6. *m.* **sponsaliorum**: for the more common *sponsalium*, as also in Sen., *de Ben.* I. 9. 4, *decentissimum sponsaliorum genus.* The day of the betrothal might precede the actual marriage by one or more years. Besides the formal words of parent or guardian (*Spondesne? Spondeo*), the bridegroom gave the bride a present, often a ring placed on the third finger of the left hand, our 'ring finger'; see Plaut., *Aul.* 255 f.; Gell. X. 10. 1 f.

18. **Gallum Cerrinium**: inverted name; see Introd. II. § 10. *b.* (3).

19. captum repente oculis : *suddenly become blind.*

20. praesens consolando : *by his comforting words offered in person.*

Chapter 54. Tolerance of Freedom of Speech in the Senate

22. si locum haberem : *if I had the opportunity.*

24. per iram : see Introd. II. § 5. *n.* (3). **ingesserunt** : *overwhelmed him with the taunt.* Its direct object is the indirect statement, *licere . . . loqui.* Cf. Hor., *Sat.* I. 5. 11 f.: *Tum pueri nautis, pueris convicia nautae ingerere.*

26. Antistius Labeo : an eminent jurist, son of one of the assassins of Julius Caesar, characterized by Tacitus (*Ann.* III. 75. 3) as *incorrupta libertate et ob id fama celebratior*, while his rival Capito spoke of his *libertas* as *nimia atque vecors;* cf. Gell. XIII. 12. 1–4. **senatus lectione** : at the selection in 18 B.C., mentioned in *Aug.* 35. 1. See note to page 67, line 5.

27. M. Lepidum hostem, etc.: see note to page 54, line 19. Cf. Dio LIV. 15. 7, where the reply of Labeo is given : 'And what dreadful act have I committed in retaining in the senate a man whose position as *pontifex maximus* you still overlook ?'

28. an essent : *an* = *annon ;* see Introd. II. § 6. *b.* 1.

30. fraudi cuiquam fuit : *tend to any one's prejudice ;* cf. Cic., *ad Att.* V. 21. 12 : *Fit gratia Bruti senatus consultum, ut neve Salaminiis neve qui eis dedisset fraudi esset.* See Introd. II. § 4. *g.*

Chapter 55. Treatment of Lampoons

31. famosos libellos : *libels, libelous publications.* **nec . . . et** : *not only . . . but.*

Page 79. **1. cognoscendum** : sc. *esse ; judicial cognizance should be taken :* see Introd. II. § 10. *d.* (1). Cf. Tac., *Ann.* I. 72. 4 : *Primus Augustus cognitionem de famosis libellis specie legis eius tractavit.* Dio (LVI. 27. 1) states that certain persons guilty of libel in 12 A.D. were punished and their slanderous notes were burned.

2. ad infamiam cuiuspiam : *to bring any one into disrepute.*

3. edant : the imperfect would be more usual ; Introd. II. § 7. *d.*

Chapter 56. Demeanor at Elections and in Law-courts

5. contra dixit edicto : *answered by a proclamation ;* rather a strange use of the edict, but Augustus used it on other occasions to com-

municate with the citizens, even on personal matters, as may be seen from page 65, lines 3 ff. Cf. page 97, lines 21 f., *libros . . . populo notos per edictum saepe fecit.* It was left for Claudius to carry this practice to an absurd extreme, issuing twenty in one day, and on trivial matters; cf. *Claud.* 16. 4, 32, 38. 1. **Et tamen ne de inhibenda**, etc.: *and still he interposed (his veto) to prevent any enactment to restrict freedom of speech in wills.* In their wills the Romans often gave free expression to their opinions of public men and affairs. Augustus, it is said, was peculiarly sensitive to the last utterances of his friends; cf. *Aug.* 66. 4. Dio (LVIII. 25. 2) cites the instance of Fulcinius Trio's violent testamentary attacks under Tiberius; cf. Tac., *Ann.* VI. 38. 2. See note to page 85, line 4.

8. candidatis suis: candidates for office whom he favored. **supplicabat**: *made his appeal.* The presence of the emperor, as of influential friends in republican times, would in itself lend great weight to the *ambitio* of those thus recognized as *candidati Caesaris.*

9. in tribu: though a member of two tribes, Augustus would vote in only one; see page 69, line 20, and note.

11. Forum angustius fecit: certain irregularities in the plan of his rectangular forum are explained by the fact that Augustus had to acquire the entire site from private owners and was not successful in carrying out his original plans. See Platner, *Anc. Rome*², 278, and note to page 62, line 25.

12. possessoribus: dative after *extorquere;* see Introd. II. § 4. *k.* Cf. Cic., *Cat. Mai.* 23. 85: *nec mihi hunc errorem . . . extorqueri volo.*

13. filios: his adopted sons, Gaius and Lucius, sons of Agrippa and Julia; cf. page 60, line 20; page 82, lines 25 ff. **ut non adiceret**: *quin* would be more usual than *ut non;* cf. Cic., *in Verr.* II. 4. 43. 95: *Numquam tam male est Siculis quin aliquid facete et commode dicant.*

14. Eisdem praetextatis: *likewise, while they still wore the toga praetexta,* and so were under age; see note to page 73, line 14. The words, a dative of reference, are to be construed with *assurrectum* and *plausum (esse).*

15. assurrectum ab universis, etc.: *the entire audience arose in their honor and stood and applauded them;* note the chiasmus: see Introd. II. § 10. *h.* The verbs are used impersonally. Observe that *ab universis* is employed with the first verb, *a stantibus* with the second; the preposition being repeated although *stantibus* really belongs with *universis.* Augustus evidently did not believe in spoiling children by too much attention. Cf. Dio LIV. 27. 1, LV. 9. 1 f.

16. ita . . . ut tamen : *yet so that, with the understanding that. Ita* is here followed by a clause expressive of restriction or limitation ; see Introd. II. § 8. *m.*

19. Asprenas Nonius : inverted name ; see Introd. II. § 10. *b.* (3). Compare note to page 72, line 9. **artius ei iunctus** : *rather a close friend of his;* cf. page 47, lines 31 f., *Pompeium artissimo contingebat gradu.*

20. Cassio Severo : distinguished as an orator, but particularly for his virulent attacks on men and women of note, he is characterized by Tacitus (*Ann.* IV. 21. 5), the aristocrat, as *sordidae originis, maleficae vitae, sed orandi validus;* cf. Tac., *Ann.* I. 72. 4. He was at first banished to Crete and later suffered a sentence of exile and deportation to Seriphus. His proscribed books were circulated again under Caligula ; cf. *Calig.* 16. 1. **officii sui** : *in keeping with his obligations.* Dio's account (LV. 4. 3) is similar to that of our author.

21. superesset : = *adesset*, in the technical sense of 'appearing in court to assist' or 'support' a friend or client. Note *Affuit . . . clientibus* in line 26, below. *Deesset*, in line 22, is similarly used of 'failure to support'.

22. eripere legibus reum : *wrest a culprit from the clutches of the law.* For the case of *legibus* see Introd. II. § 4. *j.*

23. praedamnare : according to *Harper's Dictionary*, not used by Cicero and Caesar and rare in Livy. See Introd. II. § 1. *b.*

24. subselliis : the seats provided near the *tribunal* for those concerned with the case, advocates, witnesses, etc.

25. ne laudatione quidem, etc.: *without even pronouncing a eulogy before the court.* Such general eulogies of the character of accused persons were forbidden by Pompey in 52 B.C.; cf. Dio XL. 52. 2 f. Pompey, however, violated his own ordinance, according to Dio (XL. 55. 2 f.).

26. Affuit et clientibus : see note to line 21, above. Cf. Introd. II. § 1. *c.* Note the amusing case in Hor., *Sat.* I. 9. 38 ff. : '*Si me amas,*' *inquit*, '*paullum hic ades,*' etc. Cf. Dio LIV. 3. 1.

27. evocato : *evocati* were formerly veterans summoned *nominatim* for special service ; cf. Caes., *B. G.* III. 20. 2. There was now a special class called *evocati Augusti*, supposed by Dio (XLV. 12. 3) to have had their origin in the veterans 'called out' in 44 B.C. Their rank and insignia were those of centurions and they were usually chosen from the praetorians ; cf. Dio LV. 24. 8 ; Tac., *Ann.* II. 68. 3, with Furneaux's note. **postulabatur iniuriarum** : *was sued for personal insults. Iniuria* as a

legal term involves a wrong against one's person, whether by assault, noisy abuse, libel, insulting gestures or otherwise.

29. Castricium: not otherwise known.

30. Murenae: see note to page 56, line 14.

Chapter 57. Evidences of Popularity

32. Omitto senatus consulta: see Introd. II. § 10. *l*. These decrees were such as conferred upon him the honors and titles constituting his powers as *princeps*, as well as others, some of which he declined, as has been shown in former notes.

Page 80. **1. natalem**: sc. *diem;* Introd. II. § 3. *b*.

2. sponte atque consensu: modal; see Introd. II. § 4. *s*. **biduo**: *for two days*, September twenty-second and twenty-third; ablative expressing duration of time: see Introd. II. § 4. *q*. Dio (LIV. 34. 1, LV. 6. 6) does not ascribe the celebration to the *equites* alone.

3. in lacum Curti quotannis, etc.: the pool or fountain of the *lacus Curtius* in the Forum had doubtless dried up and its place was merely marked by a *puteal*, as suggested by Platner (*Anc. Rome*², 268), who gives an account of its history, with references. We may compare the modern custom of tourists' throwing coins into the Fontana di Trevi at Rome in the pious belief of their assured return to the city.

4. Kal. Ian. strenam: *a New Year's gift on the Kalends of January.* The *strena* ('*étrenne*' in French), connected with *Strenia*, the name of a Sabine goddess, was *ominis boni gratia*, according to Festus (*s. v.*, page 313, M.); cf. Plaut., *Stich.* 673: *Bona scaeva strenaque obviam occessit mihi.* The emperors therefore accepted the *strena* as an omen of good luck. Tiberius limited the exchange of *strenae* to New Year's Day; cf. *Tib.* 34. 2. Caligula even proclaimed by edict *strenas ineunte anno se recepturum* and stood in the vestibule of the palace on the Kalends of January *ad captandas stipes;* cf. *Calig.* 42.

6. vicatim: see notes to page 69, line 14 and page 71, line 28. **Apollinem Sandaliarium**: in the *vicus Sandaliarius*, 'Sandal Street', of the fourth *regio*. The *Argiletum*, one of the principal streets in *regio IV*, was especially noted for its book and shoe shops. Perhaps 'Sandal street', or 'Shoemakers' Row', was a side street; cf. Gell. XVIII. 4. 1: *in Sandaliario forte apud librarios fuimus*, and see Platner, *Anc. Rome*², 457 ff.

7. Iovem Tragoedum: said to have been in the *vicus Tragoedus* in *regio V*. **In restitutionem**: see Introd. II. § 5. *k*. (1). (*a*):

8. Palatinae domus, etc.: the house of Hortensius destroyed by fire in 2 A.D.; cf. *Aug.* 72. 1. It was rebuilt, apparently on a larger scale. Dio (-Xiph.) says (LV. 12. 5): 'But when Augustus had built the house, he devoted it entirely to public use, whether, indeed, because of the contribution which had been made him by the people or actually because he was *pontifex maximus*, in order to dwell at once in what was private and public property.'

9. decuriae: whether these were tribal subdivisions or guilds of the minor officials seems still to be matter of uncertainty.

11. delibante: *took a little from*; with *acervos* as object.

12. plus denario: Dio (-Xiph. LV. 12. 4) says Augustus took only one *denarius* ('drachma' in the Greek), about sixteen cents, from each individual and one *aureus*, of the value of twenty-five *denarii*, from the states.

13. faustis ominibus: *congratulations and best wishes*; cf. *Claud.* 27. 2, *Britannicum . . . faustisque ominibus . . . prosequebatur.*

14. modulatis carminibus: *strains of songs*; cf. *Calig.* 16. 4, *pueris ac puellis carmine modulato laudes virtutum eius canentibus.* **Observatum etiam est**: *they took care, too.* The day of his entrance into the city in 29 B.C. was declared sacred and was given over to sacrifices; cf. Dio LI. 20. 3.

Chapter 58. Augustus Receives the Title, 'Pater Patriae'

17. Patris patriae cognomen: this title had been previously applied to Augustus, but was first officially recognized in 2 B.C.; cf. Dio LV. 10. 10. Augustus himself states (*M. A.* XXXV. 6. 24 ff.): *Tertium decimum consulatum cum gerebam, senatus et equester ordo populusque Romanus universus appellavit me patrem patriae.* It was a complimentary designation, not necessary to the powers of the principate. The title had been decreed to Julius Caesar a short time before his death; cf. Liv., *Epit.* CXVI. As applied to Cicero, the title had a different connotation; cf. Cic., *in Pis.* 3. 6; Plut., *Cic.* XXIII. Tiberius declined it altogether and it was not borne by the transitory emperors, Galba, Otho and Vitellius; cf. *Tib.* 26. 2, 67. 2. See Mommsen, *Röm Staatsr.* II³. 779 f.

18. Antium: modern Anzio, on the coast thirty-seven miles by rail southeast of Rome, the site of extensive villas in later republican times and the birthplace of Caligula and Nero; cf. *Calig.* 8. 2; *Ner.* 6. 1.

19. spectacula: *the theater*; lit. *seats of the spectators.*

21. (*M.*) Valerium Messalam (*Corvinum*): pardoned by the triumvirs, he became one of the chief generals and friends of Augustus; con-

sul in 31 B.C., proconsul of Aquitania in 28–27 B.C.; a patron of learning, himself a writer and orator, a friend of Horace and Tibullus.

22. Quod bonum, etc.: *may good fortune and the blessing of heaven attend thee and thy house.*

25. huic: sc. *urbi.*

29. Compos factus, etc.: see note to page 62, line 17.

Chapter 59. Augustus Cured by Musa

Page 81. **1. Antonio Musae**: Musa was the means of restoring Augustus to health in 23 B.C., when the emperor's life was despaired of, by the use of cold baths and cooling drinks. He failed in the same treatment of Marcellus, however, who died a few months after Augustus's recovery; cf. Dio LIII. 30. 3 f. Horace (*Ep.* I. 15. 3 ff.) alludes to the same mode of treatment.

2. aere conlato: *money contributed, contributions of money.* **signum Aesculapi**: a statue of Aesculapius, god of the medical art, was found in the excavations near the *lacus Iuturnae;* see Platner, *Anc. Rome*², 219. Pliny (*N. H.* XXXIV. 8. 80) mentions such a statue in the temple of Concord, also in the Forum.

3. patrum familiarum: the *pater familias* was master of the house and head of the family and had absolute authority over his children. He alone had the right to dispose of the family property by mortgage, sale, or will. *Familia* here means 'property', 'estate': *owners of property.*

4. praelato titulo: *bearing a placard before them,* to indicate the nature of the sacrifice.

8. super: = *praeter;* see Introd. II. § 5. *r.* (2). (*c*). **templa et aras**: see *Aug.* 52 and notes to page 77, lines 19 f. For the worship of the emperor in the provinces see Marquardt, *Röm. Staatsv.* III². 463 f.

9. ludos quoque quinquennales: these games, modeled after the Greek contests, had been established at Rome in 30 B.C.; cf. Dio LI. 19. 2. There were also similar *ludi* in his honor at Pergamum, at Caesarea, and at Naples; cf. Dio LI. 20. 9, LV. 10. 9; Jos., *Ant. Jud.* XVI. 5. 1. **oppidatim**: see note to page 75, line 31, *provinciatim.* This adverb is quoted for only one other passage, and that in Suetonius: *Galb.* 18, *Cum . . . oppidatim victimae caederentur.* Cf. Introd. II. § 1. *f.*

Chapter 60. Honors from Allied Kings

12. Caesareas urbes: among these was Caesarea in Samaria, on the coast, formerly called *Turris Stratonis*, but rebuilt and renamed by Herod

in honor of Augustus. Caesarea in Mauretania Caesariensis was so renamed by Juba. Caesarea Philippi, in northern Palestine, received its name in honor of Tiberius, while Caesarea ad Argaeum, in Cappadocia, was not so named till Tiberius's time. **aedem Iovis Olympii**: the colossal temple of Olympian Zeus was begun by Peisistratus and completed by Hadrian a short time before the visit to Athens of Pausanias, who describes (I. 18. 6) its wonderful construction. Antiochus Epiphanes planned its completion, but the work was stopped by his death in 164 B.C. What was done by the foreign potentates in honor of Augustus is not known. See Gardner, *Anc. Athens*, 486–8, 493, 498–9, 527.

14. Genio: the *Genius* of a person was his tutelary spirit, his creative principle, closely identified with him in life and living on in his Lar after death. Under the empire the Genius of Augustus and the Genius of the reigning emperor were publicly worshipped at the same time.

16. cotidiana officia: see note to page 61, line 21. **togati**, etc.: thus acknowledging that they were Romans and subjects; cf. *M. A.* XXXII. 5. 54 ff. **insigni**: see note to page 67, line 12.

Chapter 61. Domestic Life. Deaths of Atia and Octavia

18. imperiis ac magistratibus: *military and civil offices.*

21. inter suos: see Introd. II. § 5. *l.* (1).

22. egerit: = *vixerit;* cf. Tac., *Ann.* III. 19. 2, *apud illos homines qui tum agebant;* Sall., *Jug.* 55. 2, *civitas . . . laeta agere.*

23. Matrem amisit: in 43 B.C., following upon his return from Mutina in August of that year. Both Atia and Octavia had been concealed in the house of the Vestals during his absence from Rome; cf. App., *B. C.* III. 92. 380. Dio (XLVII. 17. 6) records the public funeral granted Atia. **Octaviam**: see note to page 47, line 27. Note that the date of her death was 11 B.C., not 9 B.C. as stated by Suetonius.

25. praecipua officia: *marked courtesies.*

26. defunctae honores, etc.: as we have seen, Atia was honored with a public funeral. Augustus himself delivered the funeral oration over Octavia; cf. Dio LIV. 35. 5.

Chapter 62. Augustus's Marriages

27. Sponsam: see note to page 78, line 17. *Repudium* was used of breaking such a betrothal compact; cf. Plaut., *Aul.* 783: *Is me nunc renuntiare repudium iussit tibi*, together with the response (784): *Repudium*

rebus paratis exornatis nuptiis? **P. Servili Isaurici**: P. Servilius Vatia, who inherited the cognomen Isauricus from the conqueror of the Isaurian pirates, was consul with Julius Caesar in 48 B.C. and propraetor of Asia in 46 B.C. After Caesar's death in 44 B.C. he at first opposed Antony, but soon became reconciled to him through Octavian's good offices and was again consul in 41 B.C., with Lucius Antonius as his colleague (note to page 52, line 25), possibly as compensation for the repudiation of Servilia. He was inactive when his colleague stirred up the war at Perusia. See Tyrrell and Purser, *Corresp. of Cicero*, IV, Introd., LXXX f.

28. reconciliatus . . . Antonio: see note to page 54, line 24. **expostulantibus utriusque militibus**: Dio (XLVI. 56. 3) adds: 'And Antony evidently instigated it.'

30. Fulviae: after the assassination of her first husband, P. Clodius, Cicero's enemy, in 52 B.C., she was again married, in 49 B.C., to Gaius Curio, who was killed during that year while on an African campaign. Her marriage to Mark Antony occurred about the year 46 B.C. After Perusia she fled to Athens, where she was met by Antony and ill treated by him. She afterwards died at Sicyon, where he had left her on their way to Italy. Cf. App., *B. C.* V. 52. 217, 55. 230; Dio XLVIII. 28. 2 f., and see note to page 52, line 26.

31. simultate cum Fulvia, etc.: Dio has this to say (XLVIII. 5. 3): 'For Caesar could not endure his mother-in-law's ill temper (for he wished it to be thought that his quarrel was with her rather than with Antony) and dismissed her daughter with the assurance that she was still a maiden; a statement which he confirmed by an oath.' The occurrences leading up to Perusia are sufficient to explain the quarrel with Fulvia, particularly when her imperious nature is considered. Cf. Dio XLVIII. 5. 1 ff.

Page 82. **1. Scriboniam**: Scribonia had two children by P. Cornelius Scipio; a daughter, Cornelia, and a son, a consul of the year 16 B.C. She was a sister of L. Scribonius Libo, the father-in-law of Sextus Pompeius. On the advice of Maecenas, Augustus married her in 40 B.C. in order to forestall a coalition between Antony and Sextus Pompeius. It was purely a political marriage. Octavian, having renewed his alliance with Antony, divorced her the following year, 39 B.C., on the very day she had borne him a daughter, Julia. Dio (XLVIII. 34. 3) says that the real reason for the divorce was his love for Livia. Scribonia lived to accompany her daughter to Pandataria in 2 B.C. Cf. Dio XLVIII. 16. 3; App., *B. C.* V. 53. 221 f.

3. pertaesus, etc.: *utterly disgusted with the shrewishness of her disposition. Pertaesus* with the accusative is cited only for Suetonius; cf. page 4, line 1, *pertaesus ignaviam suam; Tib.* 67. 1, *semet ipse pertaesus.* The simple *taesus* is not so used. See Introd. II. § 4. *n.* **ut scribit**: see Introd. II. § 7. *a.*

4. Liviam Drusillam: daughter of Livius Drusus Claudianus, a woman of noble descent and possessed of youth and beauty when she married Augustus at the age of twenty, in 38 B.C. She had fled with her husband, Tiberius Claudius Nero, and the young Tiberius (born November 16, 42 B.C.) in 40 B.C., but returned to Rome after the peace of Misenum, 39 B.C.; cf. Dio XLVIII. 15. 3 f.; Tac., *Ann.* V. 1. 2. Her second son, Drusus, was born three months after her marriage to Augustus. Her former husband gave her in marriage, Dio says (XLVIII. 44. 3), 'like any father'. Dio (LVIII. 2. 4 f.) quotes some of her terse sayings with evident approval when mentioning the honors accorded her at her death in 29 A.D. Tacitus (*Ann.* I. 10. 4) characterizes her as *gravis in rem publicam mater, gravis domui Caesarum noverca;* the latter epithet referring to the popular belief that she caused the deaths of her son's rivals, Gaius and Lucius; cf. Dio LV. 10 *a.* 10.

6. dilexitque et probavit, etc.: *loved and esteemed her with constancy and singleness of heart.*

Chapter 63. Julia, Daughter of Augustus and Scribonia

8. nihil liberorum: cf. note to page 72, line 17. See Introd. II. § 4. *e.*

10. Marcello; son of Octavia and M. Claudius Marcellus. He was born in 43 B.C., and his birth was heralded by Vergil in *Aeneid*, VI. 860–886. He died in 23 B.C., soon after Augustus had recovered from his serious illness of that year; cf. Dio LIII. 30. 4 ff. It is in this connection that Dio (LIII. 33. 4) refers to the suspicion attaching to Livia. The marriage of Marcellus and Julia apparently occurred in 25 B.C.; cf. Dio LIII. 27. 5.

11. tantum quod pueritiam egresso: *when he had just passed from boyhood. Tantum quod* is used again of proximity in time on page 104, line 11, *quae tantum quod appulerat*, and in *Ner.* 6. 1, *tantum quod exoriente sole.* For the case of *pueritiam* see Introd. II. § 4. *m.*

12. exorata sorore, etc.: *prevailing on his sister to give up her son-in-law to him. Genero* is an ablative after *cederet;* cf. page 35, lines 20 ff., *Gaio Oppio . . . deversoriolo . . . cesserit;* Cic., *de Off.* II. 23. 82,

possessionibus cederent. The person in whose favor the concession is made is in the dative (*sibi*). See Introd. II. § 4. *u.*

13. Agrippa: whose first wife was Pomponia, daughter of Atticus. Vipsania, the daughter of this marriage, was betrothed to Tiberius when she was scarcely a year old; cf. Nep., *Att.* 12. 1 f., 19. 4. **alteram Marcellarum**: a daughter of Octavia by M. Claudius Marcellus. According to Plutarch (*Ant.* LXXXVII), she was married, after her divorce from Agrippa, to the young Antony, son of Mark Antony and Fulvia.

14. Hoc quoque defuncto: Agrippa died in 12 B.C., at the age of fifty-one. He had married Julia nine years before his death.

15. ex equestri ordine: Tacitus (*Ann.* IV. 40. 8) thus quotes Tiberius: *At enim Augustus filiam suam equiti Romano tradere meditatus est. Mirum hercule, si cum in omnis curas distraheretur immensumque attolli provideret quem coniunctione tali super alios extulisset, C. Proculeium et quosdam in sermonibus habuit insigni tranquillitate vitae, nullis rei publicae negotiis permixtos.*

16. condicionibus: *matches, marriage alliances;* cf. page 13, lines 22 f., *Octaviam . . . condicionem ei detulit;* Liv. III. 45. 11, *sciat . . . condicionem filiae quaerendam esse.* See Introd. II. § 2. *a.* **Tiberium privignum**, etc.: Tiberius was sincerely fond of Vipsania and quite unwilling to divorce her in favor of Julia, of whom he disapproved; cf. *Tib.* 7. 2; Tac., *Ann.* I. 12. 6. Vipsania had borne one child, Drusus, to Tiberius before her divorce from him. She died in 20 A.D. as the wife of Asinius Gallus; cf. Tac., *Ann.* III. 19. 4.

19. Cotisoni Getarum regi, etc.: see note to page 75, line 24. The charge is on a par with others of Antony's devising; see note to page 47, line 6.

Chapter 64. Grandsons and Granddaughters

23. Agrippam: Agrippa Postumus, put to death by Tiberius in the first year of his reign. Suetonius (*Tib.* 22) says: *Excessum Augusti non prius palam fecit quam Agrippa iuvene interempto;* cf. Tac., *Ann.* I. 6. 1. See note to page 56, line 21.

24. L. Paulo: son of Paulus Aemilius Lepidus, censor of 22 B.C. See note to page 56, line 15. **Germanico**: son of the elder (Nero Claudius) Drusus and Antonia, who was the daughter of Octavia and Antony. He became the father of Gaius Caesar, later the emperor Caligula; see *Calig.* 1–6.

25. adoptavit: *adoptio* was the general term both for *adoptio* of a person *alieni iuris* and for *arrogatio* of a person *sui iuris*. By *adoptio* a

person under one *potestas* passed under another *potestas*. For the procedure connected with *arrogatio* see note to page 10, line 8.

26. per assem et libram emptos: the fictitious sale required that a balance, *libra*, should be touched with a penny, *as*, in the presence of a praetor; cf. Gell. V. 19. 1–4. The adoption took place in 17 B.C., when Gaius was in his third year and Lucius was just born; cf. Dio LIV. 18. 1; Tac., *Ann.* I. 3. 2. **tenerosque adhuc**, etc.: *introduced them to state administration while still of tender years.* Augustus himself thus gives the facts (*M. A.* XIV. 2. 46 ff.): *Filios meos, quos iuvenes mihi eripuit fortuna, Gaium et Lucium Caesares honoris mei causa senatus populusque Romanus annum quintum et decimum agentis consules designavit, ut eum magistratum inirent post quinquennium. Et ex eo die quo deducti sunt in forum, ut interessent conciliis publicis decrevit senatus. Equites autem Romani universi principem iuventutis utrumque eorum parmis et hastis argenteis donatum appellaverunt.* Gaius was born in 20 B.C. and was consul designate in 5 B.C. Lucius was born in 17 B.C. and was consul designate in 2 B.C. Gaius was consul of 1 A.D.; Lucius was to have been consul of 4 A.D., but died in 2 A.D. The title of *princeps iuventutis* is analogous to *princeps senatus.* It was apparently new at this time. Cf. Tac., *Ann.* I. 3. 2 f.; Dio LV. 9. 2; Zon. X. 35.

28. circum provincias, etc.: see Introd. II. § 5. *f.* (1). Gaius was in the East from 1 B.C. until his death in 4 A.D.; cf. Tac., *Ann.* II. 4. 2, III. 48. 2; Dio LV. 10 *a.* 4, 9. Lucius died at Marseilles *en route* to Spain in 2 A.D.; cf. Dio LV. 10 *a.* 9 f.; Tac., *Ann.* I. 3. 3.

29. lanificio assuefaceret: *had them trained in the working of wool; i.e.* spinning and weaving, in imitation of more primitive times.

31. quod in diurnos commentarios referretur: *what might be recorded in the household diary.* The custom of keeping such a record of events of the imperial household apparently dated from the time of Augustus. The official *commentarii* of the emperors, such as are mentioned in *Dom.* 20, *commentarios et acta Tiberi Caesaris*, were kept by slaves and freedmen and were quite different from the *diurni commentarii* here mentioned. See Friedländer, *Rom. Life and Manners* (Engl. Transl.), IV. 56. Macé (*Essai sur Suétone*, 188 f.), however, vigorously attacks this explanation of *diurni commentarii*, which has been accepted by Peter, Shuckburgh and others. Macé thinks the phrase refers to the *acta diurna*, or 'Daily Gazette'; see note to page 9, line 8. The passage quoted (*Dom.* 20) would seem to indicate, however, that Suetonius used *acta* and *commentarii* with different connotations; cf., also, *Gram.* 4, 5, 10, 18; *Jul.* 56. 1–3; *Tib.* 61. 1.

32. L. Vinicio: a Vinicius is mentioned in *Aug.* 71. 2 as a guest of Augustus at dinner; possibly, the same as the one here mentioned. He has not been identified.

Page 83. **2. Baias**: modern Baia, on the bay of that name, some ten miles from the Naples of to-day, was the most splendid watering-place of ancient Rome. Horace's wealthy Roman exclaims (*Ep.* I. 1. 83): *Nullus in orbe sinus Bais praelucet amoenis;* cf. Hor., *Od.* III. 4. 24, *Seu liquidae placuere Baiae.*

4. per se plerumque: it was customary to have private tutors, who were usually slaves or freedmen. Suetonius (*Gram.* 17) mentions M. Verrius Flaccus as a tutor of Augustus's grandsons. **nihil aeque elaboravit**, etc.: *he never took as much pains with anything as to have them imitate his own handwriting;* cf. *Aug.* 88.

6. una: *in their company*, as J. C. Rolfe translates the word. **nisi ut in imo lecto assiderent**: *without having them sit beside him on the lowest couch; i.e.* on the *imus lectus*, where the *summus locus* was regularly occupied by the host, next to the guest of honor in the *imus locus* of the *medius lectus.* The couch on the third side of the table was called the *summus lectus* and, like each of the other two couches, accommodated three guests. The fourth side of the table was left open to make it accessible to the servants. See Hor., *Sat.* II. 8. 20 ff., for an amusing description of a dinner party. Children customarily sat, instead of reclining, at table; cf. *Claud.* 32: *Adhibebat omni cenae et liberos suos cum pueris puellisque nobilibus, qui more veteri ad fulcra lectorum sedentes vescerentur.* Tacitus (*Ann.* XIII. 16. 1) explains what was the *mos vetus: Mos habebatur principum liberos cum ceteris idem aetatis nobilibus sedentis vesci in aspectu propinquorum propria et parciore mensa.*

7. nisi ut vehiculo, etc.: *without having them precede his carriage or ride close by it on each side. Nisi ut*, 'except on condition that', is post-classical, according to Gildersleeve-Lodge, *Lat. Gram.*[3], 591. (*b*). 2. Rem. 2. 3. **circa**: adverbial; see Introd. II. § 5. *f.* (4).

Chapter 65. Family Losses. Adoption of Tiberius. Banishment of Daughter and Granddaughter

9. Iulias, filiam et neptem, etc.: for the three marriages of the elder Julia see *Aug.* 63, with notes. In spite of Tiberius's feelings towards her at first, Suetonius (*Tib.* 7. 3) states that their married life was harmonious until the death of their only child widened the breach that had previously been made between them. In 6 B.C. Tiberius went to Rhodes,

leaving Julia in Rome, and from there sent her a notice of divorce; cf. Dio LV. 9. 5 ff.; *Tib.* 11. 4. All authorities are agreed as to her notorious vices; cf. Tac., *Ann.* III. 24. 2; Vell. II. 100. 3; Sen., *de Ben.* VI. 32. 1; Dio LV. 10. 12 ff. Macrobius (*Sat.* II. 5) has given an account of some of her sayings and her personal traits. Among those men who suffered for their escapades with Julia were Iulus Antonius, who was put to death 'on the ground that he had actually committed this act with a view to the sovereignty' (Dio LV. 10. 15), and Gracchus, who was sent into exile (Tac., *Ann.* I. 53. 6). After five years on Pandataria she was removed to Rhegium, but survived her father only a few weeks. Cf. Tac., *Ann.* I. 53. 1, and see note to page 56, line 21. The younger Julia had a son and a daughter by her husband Lepidus; see note to page 82, line 24, and cf. *Calig.* 24. 3, *Claud.* 26. 1. She followed in her mother's footsteps and was banished to the island of Trimerus, possibly the modern S. Domenico off the coast of Apulia; cf. Tac., *Ann.* III. 24. 2, IV. 71. 6. Ovid's disgrace has been associated by some with the younger Julia's.

10. C. et L. . . . amisit: Lucius died at Marseilles on August 20, 2 A.D.; Gaius, at Limyra in Lycia on February 21, 4 A.D. See notes to page 82, lines 26 and 28.

11. Gaio . . . Lucio . . . defunctis: notice the ablative absolute construction with the same persons as the direct object of *amisit.* See Introd. II. § 4. *v.*

12. Agrippam: Agrippa Postumus (born after his father's death in 12 B.C.), whose banishment to Planasia in 7 A.D. Tacitus attributes to Livia's jealousy on behalf of Tiberius. Tacitus (*Ann.* I. 3. 4) characterizes him as *rudem sane bonarum artium et robore corporis stolide ferocem, nullius tamen flagitii conpertum.* It seems that Augustus not only visited him in exile, but was inclined to recall him. Cf. Tac., *Ann.* I. 5. 2, and see notes to page 56, line 21, and page 82, line 23.

13. simulque privignum, etc.: June 26, 4 A.D. According to Dio (LV. 22. 4), Agrippa did not assume the *toga virilis* until the following year. Cf. *Tib.* 15. 2; Vell. II. 104. 1. **lege curiata**: for adoption by *arrogatio* see notes to page 10, line 8 and page 82, line 25. A formal *rogatio* occurred, the wording of which Gellius gives (V. 19. 9).

14. ob ingenium, etc.: cf. Dio LV. 32. 1 f.; Tac., *Ann.* I. 3. 4; Vell. II. 112. 7.

15. abdicavit: *disinherited;* a post-Augustan usage; cf. *Tib.* 15. 2, *Agrippa abdicato atque seposito.* **seposuitque Surrentum**: he was sequestered at Surrentum, modern Sorrento, across the bay from Naples, before his *relegatio* to Planasia; see note to line 12, above.

18. absens ac libello . . . recitato: see Introd. II. § 10. *a.* **per quaestorem**: the consuls had their quaestors and so the emperor, as holding consular authority, had his two *quaestores Caesaris* who brought and read messages from the emperor to the senate; cf. *Ner.* 15. 2: *orationes ad senatum missas praeterito quaestoris officio per consulem plerumque recitabat;* Tac., *Ann.* XVI. 27. 2: *oratio principis per quaestorem eius audita est;* Dio LIV. 25. 5, LX. 2. 2.

20. de necanda: sc. *ea;* see Introd. II. § 10. *d.* (2).

22. maluisse se, etc.: cf. Dio LV. 10. 16.

23. Relegatae: sc. *ei, i.e. Iuliae;* see Introd. II. § 10. *d.* (2). For the case of *ei* see Introd. II. § 4. *k.* **omnemque delicatiorem cultum**: *all the more luxurious refinements of life.*

25. nisi se consulto: see Introd. II. § 6. *l.* **ita ut certior fieret**: *not without his being informed;* see Introd. II. § 8. *m.*

28. in continentem: to Rhegium, on the Sicilian straits; see note to line 12, above, with references. **lenioribusque paulo condicionibus**: *and on somewhat milder terms.* Note the collocation of the phrase, united, as it is, with *in continentem;* see Introd. II. § 10. *a.*

30. deprecanti saepe, etc.: Dio (-Xiph.) says (LV. 13. 1): 'He said fire would combine with water sooner than she would be recalled.'

Page 84. **2. in insulam**: *i.e.* Planasia; see note to page 83, line 12.

3. custodia militum: Agrippa was, probably, slain by the centurion of this guard; cf. Tac., *Ann.* I. 6. 1 f.

4. eodem loci: rare, but Ciceronian; cf. *ad Att.* I. 13. 5, *Res eodem est loci quo reliquisti.*

7. Αἴθ' ὄφελον, etc.: *would that I had perished unmarried and childless;* cf. Hom., *Il.* III. 40, where, with the verbs in the second person and an interchange of the position of the adjectives, Hector addresses Paris. See Leaf's note on the Homeric verse.

8. tris vomicas, etc.: *his trio of boils and trio of ulcers*, or *cancers;* coarse terms of reproach: cf. Quint., *Inst.* VIII. 6. 15, *Persecuisti rei publicae vomicas.* *Carcinomata* is a borrowed word: Introd. II. § 1. *d.*

Chapter 66. Augustus's Friendships. Treatment of Legacies

13. Neque . . . temere: see note to page 54, line 6.

14. afflicti: sc. *esse; came to their ruin:* see Introd. II. § 10. *d.* (1). (*Q.*) **Salvidienum Rufum**: early in life a devoted partisan of Octavian. He and Agrippa were with Octavius at Apollonia when news came of

Caesar's murder; cf. Vell. II. 59. 5. He was active in the war of Perusia and afterwards commanded a fleet against Sextus Pompeius; cf. Dio XLVIII. 13. 4, 18. 1 f. He was designated consul, but seems to have formed some treasonable conspiracy against Augustus in 40 B.C. and was executed; cf. Dio XLVIII. 33. 1–3; App., *B.C.* V. 66. 278 f.

15. Cornelium Gallum: born at Forum Julii, modern Fréjus, in Gaul about 68–66 B.C., he came to Rome at an early age to begin his career as a poet. He embraced Octavian's party and was one of the commissioners of 41 B.C. to distribute lands to his veterans in the north of Italy, when he protected Mantua and Vergil's estate. He is the Gallus of Vergil's tenth Eclogue. After Actium he was sent to Egypt in pursuit of Antony and was later appointed the first prefect of the province of Egypt, where he remained four years, only to incur the enmity of Augustus and be driven to take his own life; cf. Dio LI. 9. 1 ff., 17. 1; LIII. 23. 5 ff. He was an intimate friend of the most eminent men of his time and possessed great intellectual attainments, but all his works have perished.

16. praefecturam Aegypti: see note to page 56, line 2.

19. provinciis suis: the imperial provinces; see note to page 75, line 8. Cf. Dio LIII. 23. 6: 'He was subjected to indignity by Augustus to the extent of actually being prevented from living among his nations.'

20. quoque: *i.e.* as well as Salvidienus, who, however, was executed, according to Dio and Appian; see note to line 14, above. **accusatorum denuntiationibus**, etc.: the accusations of Valerius Largus, a friend turned traitor, were quickly followed by those of many others. The senate then decreed his legal conviction and the confiscation and transfer of his property to Augustus. Largus was not in popular favor after this act of treachery. Cf. Dio LIII. 23. 6–24. 3.

24. quod sibi soli, etc.: *because he alone was not allowed to go only as far as he liked in his anger towards his friends.* The emperor's anger must needs be fatal, while men in private station could effect a reconciliation after quarrels with their friends.

25. Reliqui, etc.: note the adversative asyndeton; see Introd. II. § 10. *f.* (4).

26. sui quisque ordinis principes: *holding each a leading position in his own station;* whether he belonged to the *ordo senatorius*, *equester*, or *plebeius*.

27. quanquam et offensis intervenientibus: *although there were also occasional disagreements;* see Introd. II. § 6. *l.* **Desideravit**:

missed, in the sense of 'failed to find', in the incidents mentioned, what he had previously found to be characteristics of the men in question.

29. ex levi frigoris, etc.: note the two different ways of expressing cause; see Introd. II. § 10. *a.*

30. frigoris: *coldness* on the part of Augustus. The reading of the MSS., *rigoris*, is evidently a mistake. Lipsius's emendation is accepted by Ihm and is to be preferred.

31. Mytilenas se . . . contulisset: Dio explains Agrippa's mission to Syria in 23 B.C. as due to jealousy existing between Marcellus and the statesman. Suetonius (*Tib.* 10. 1) gives a similar account: *exemplo M. Agrippae, qui M. Marcello ad munera publica admoto Mytilenas abierit ne aut obstare aut obtrectare praesens videretur.* The real reason, however, for the mission is given by Josephus (*Ant. Jud.* XV. 10. 2 f.), as has been shown by D. Magie, Jr., in *Class. Phil.* III (1908). 145 ff. Agrippa himself went only to Mytilene and wintered there, while his legates were sent to Phraates to suggest the possible restoration of his son. These overtures were successful and resulted in the return of the standards by the Parthians; see note to page 57, line 29. Agrippa meanwhile prepared the way for Augustus's prospective tour of the East. In the winter of 22–21 B.C. he returned to Sicily and soon afterward received Julia's hand in marriage. Cf. Dio LIII. 31. 2–32. 1; LIV. 6. 5.

Page 85. **1. Murenae coniuratione**: see note to page 56, line 14. **uxori Terentiae**: whatever the cause of the retirement of Maecenas in 16 B.C., the voice of scandal had linked the names of Augustus and Terentia; cf. Dio LIV. 19. 3, and see note to page 86, line 10. Suetonius explains Maecenas's retirement from public life on the ground of Terentia's having been enabled to put her brother on his guard. In any event, Maecenas remained in seclusion, chiefly in his Esquiline villa, until his death in 8 B.C.; cf. Dio LIV. 19. 6, LV. 7. 1; Tac., *Ann.* III. 30. 6; XIV. 53. 3.

4. a defunctis: see note to page 79, line 5. One of Nero's provisions was *ut ingratorum in principem testamenta ad fiscum pertinerent;* see *Ner.* 32. 2. Cf. Tac., *Ann.* III. 76. 2, XIV. 31. 1, XVI. 11. 2; *Agr.* 43. 4; Plin., *Pan.* 43. 1; *Calig.* 38. 2.

5. ut qui . . . sustinuerit: see Introd. II. § 8. *j.*

7. iudicia: *expressions of opinion*, as indicating approval or disapprobation. **morosissime**: *very scrupulously;* with an excessive degree of carefulness: cf. page 23, line 20, *Circa corporis curam morosior.*

8. citra honorem verborum: *without paying him a tribute of honor;* see Introd. II. § 5. *g.* (2).

9. si grate pieque, etc.: *if any one had honored him with grateful and affectionate mention;* cf. *Ner.* 34. 2, *hilare prosecutus.* See Introd. II. § 7. *h.*

12. si pupillari aetate essent: *if they were in their minority; i.e.* under fourteen for males, twelve for females.

Chapter 67. Augustus as Patron and Master

14. Patronus dominusque: *patronus* of his freedmen, *dominus* of his slaves.

16. Licinum et Celadum: not otherwise known.

17. gravissime de se opinantem: see note to page 77, line 6.

18. dispensatorem: *steward*, manager of the imperial treasury; usually one of the most trustworthy slaves. Cf. *Ner.* 44. 1: *nec nisi ex tota cuiusque familia probatissimos, ne dispensatoribus quidem aut amanuensibus exceptis, recepit; Galb.* 12. 3, *dispensatori breviarium rationum offerenti; Vesp.* 22, *admonente dispensatore quem ad modum summam rationibus vellet inferri.*

21. non minimi periculi: see Introd. II. § 10. *k* and, for the case, II. § 4. *b.* **fraus**: *intentional deceit*, or *rascality.*

23. compertum adulterare: note the personal use of *compertum* with following infinitive. **Thallo a manu**: *his secretary Thallus;* idiomatic use of the preposition: see Introd. II. § 5. *a.* (5). Suetonius also uses *amanuensis* in the same meaning; cf. *Ner.* 44. 1, quoted in note to line 18, above; *Tit.* 3. 2. See page 36, line 12, *a manu servum; Claud.* 28, *Narcissum ab epistulis et Pallantem a rationibus*, where the phrases are used for 'secretary' and 'accountant', respectively.

25. ei: resumes *Thallo* after the intervening modifiers, but is pleonastic.

26. per occasionem: see Introd. II. § 5. *n.* (3). **superbe avareque**, etc.: *because they had committed acts of arrogance and greed in a province;* see note to page 83, line 10.

28. praecipitavit: *had them thrown headlong;* a form of punishment more common, perhaps, in the Orient than at Rome. On the use of *praecipitare* see note to page 61, line 20.

Chapter 68. Scandalous Tales

29. Prima iuventa, etc.: it is to be noted that these incredibly libelous stories proceed from his pronounced enemies. They are the height

of coarse invective and need not occasion undue surprise, however revolting, when their source is considered. Cf. Cic., *Phil.* III. 6. 15: *Primum in Caesarem maledicta congessit deprompta ex recordatione impudicitiae et stuprorum suorum! Quis enim hoc adolescente castior? Quis modestior? Quod in iuventute habemus illustrius exemplum veteris sanctitatis? Quis autem illo, qui male dicit, impurior?* See page 87, line 24, *sive criminibus sive maledictis.*

30. effeminatum: = *pathicum.*

32. quasi pudicitiam, etc.: for the use of the *quasi*-clause see Introd. II. § 8. *i.*

Page 86. 4. in contumeliam: see Introd. II. § 5. *k.* (1). (*a*).

6. gallo: *a priest of Cybele* (*matris deum*); cf. Ov., *Fast.* IV. 361 f.:

Cur igitur Gallos, qui se excidere, vocamus
Cum tanto Phrygia Gallica distet humus?

These eunuchs took part in the Megalensia, the festival of the *Magna Mater*, on April fourth. No Romans were allowed to participate in any of the rites of Cybele from the time of their introduction to Rome in 204 B.C. See Fowler, *Rom. Fest.* 69 ff. **tympanizante**: *beating his drum;* see Introd. II. § 1. *d.* Cf. Juv. VIII. 176, *Et resupinati cessantia tympana Galli.* The wild and orgiastic excesses of the worship are familiar to all.

8. Videsne, etc.: there is a double play on *orbem*, 'round drum' and 'world', and *temperat*, 'handles' and 'sways'.

Chapter 69. Sexual Irregularities

10. ratione commissa: *as the result of calculation*, for political reasons. **quo facilius**, etc.: his relations with Terentia were ascribed to this cause. See note to page 85, line 1.

12. super festinatas, etc.: see note to page 82, line 4. *Super = praeter;* see Introd. II. § 5. *r.* 2. (*c*). Cf. Dio XLVIII. 44. 2 for the reply of the pontiffs on the occasion of this marriage.

15. auriculis: diminutive; see Introd. II. § 1. *e.*

16. liberius doluisset: *had been too outspoken in deploring.* **paelicis**: in Antony's mouth, might refer to Livia.

17. condiciones: *paramours;* here of illicit amours. See note to page 82, line 16. **matres familias**: *matrons.* For the archaic form of the genitive see Lindsay, *Short Hist. Lat. Gram.*[2] 49. Cf. page 81, line 3, *patrum familiarum.*

19. tamquam . . . vendente: see Introd. II. § 6. *l.* **mangone**: *dealer in slaves*, whose value he tries to enhance by external adornment. Cf. Sen., *Ep. Mor.* XI. 1. 9: *Mangones quicquid est quod displiceat aliquo lenocinio abscondunt: itaque ementibus ornamenta ipsa suspecta sunt; sive crus adligatum sive brachium adspiceres, nudari iuberes et ipsum tibi corpus ostendi.*

20. inimicus aut hostis: *an enemy in his private or public capacity.*

22. abhinc annos novem: Antony could hardly speak of Cleopatra as *uxor* before his divorce from Octavia in 32 B.C. He first came under her influence, however, near the end of 41 B.C. Cf. Dio XLVIII. 24. 2, L. 3. 2. The true Roman regarded such a union with a foreigner with abhorrence, not because of the immorality so much as on account of the marriage itself.

23. Drusillam: Livia; see note to page 82, line 4.

24. Ita valeas uti, etc.: see Introd. II. § 8. *m.*

25. Tertullam, etc.: diminutives of the names, Tertia, Terentia, Rufa, etc. Terentia is, of course, the wife of Maecenas; see note to page 85, line 1.

Chapter 70. 'Dinner of the Twelve Gods.' Idiosyncrasies

28. secretior: *rather exclusive.* **in fabulis**: *the subject of gossip;* one of the town topics.

29. δωδεκάθεος: *that of the twelve gods.* The *porticus Deorum Consentium* may still be seen at Rome in its restored form. Possibly, statues of the twelve Olympian deities once stood in this colonnade. Gilded statues of these gods — Jupiter, Juno, Neptune, Minerva, Apollo, Diana, Mars, Venus, Vulcan, Vesta, Mercury, Ceres — had stood in this part of the Forum from very early times. Cf. Varr., *R. R.* I. 1. 4 and see Platner, *Anc. Rome*², 177 f. The shock experienced by religious feelings at such a reported profanation may readily be realized. It was the figures of these twelve gods that were placed in pairs on the couches of the *lectisternium.*

30. pro Apolline: *to represent Apollo*, who virtually became the patron god of the emperors from the time of Augustus, who paid him special honor; see notes to page 56, line 9; page 62, line 25; and page 64, line 25.

Page 87. **1. sine auctore**: *anonymous.* A theory as to the authorship of the epigram is given in the note to page 48, line 5.

3. istorum . . . mensa: *that table of rascals*, Rolfe translates. **choragum**: the choregus at Athens was in charge of bringing out the chorus and had to see that it was properly equipped with costumes and paraphernalia. A person impious enough to undertake this masque of the gods, it may be implied, had first to be discovered.

5. Mallia: supposed by some to be the name of the choregus; by others, to be the name of the place where the banquet was held. The epigram is, doubtless, intentionally obscure.

6. impia dum Phoebi, etc.: *while Caesar was impiously playing the false rôle of Phoebus.* For the use of *mendacia* see Introd. II. § 4. *l*.

7. dum nova divorum, etc.: *while he feasted on novel debaucheries of the gods;* a use of *cenare* possibly without a parallel.

13. Tortorem: (*Apollo*) *the Tormentor.* It is not known where this statue or shrine of the god stood in the city. Shuckburgh, in his note on this passage, suggests that it was either in proximity to the place where slaves were examined for testimony or near the quarter where *tortores* lived. He refers to Seneca, *Ep. Mor.* V. 11. 4. The title is generally supposed to refer to Apollo as the flayer of Marsyas.

15. Corinthiorum: sc. *vasorum; Corinthian bronzes;* costly works of art made of an alloy of gold, silver and copper. Cf. *Tib.* 34. 1, *Corinthiorum vasorum pretia.* **praecupidus**: *excessively fond;* found only here, a characteristic compound coined by our author: see Introd. II. § 1. *b*.

18. argentarius: see note to page 47, line 8. **Corinthiarius**: coined as a sarcastic appellation of Augustus, on the analogy of *argentarius;* used in inscriptions of slaves in charge of *vasa Corinthia: a Corinthiis*, *C. I. L.* X. 692; or *Corinthiarii*, *C. I. L.* VI. 8757. Rolfe translates in iambics: 'In silver once my father dealt, now in Corinthians I'. The verses are trochaic.

19. inter proscriptos: Antony, not Octavian, is said to have placed the name of Verres on the lists for this cause; *quoniam Corinthiis cessurum se ei negavisset:* cf. Plin., *N. H.* XXXIV. 2. 6.

22. bis classe victus: see note to page 53, line 18.

23. aleam: cf. *Claud.* 33. 2, *Aleam studiosissime lusit;* see Introd. II. § 4. *l*.

Chapter 71. Morals of Augustus. Gambling Proclivities

24. Ex quibus, etc.: whether actual 'offenses' or mere 'scandals' Suetonius leaves it to his readers to decide. He relates all the scandalous

stories he can collect from every quarter and then passes judgment on them.

25. impudicitiae: *unnatural vice*, here and on page 27, line 7, and in *Vesp*. 13.

26. lautitiarum: *extravagant luxuries;* cf. page 24, line 2, *Munditiarum lautitiarumque studiosissimum*.

27. murrinum: *murra* was probably a red and white agate used by the Romans in highly prized vessels and vases, while imitations in glass are also mentioned; cf. Juv. VII. 133, *empturus pueros, argentum, murrina, villas*.

28. instrumento regio: *furniture of the palace;* cf. page 89, line 23, *Instrumenti eius et suppellectilis parsimonia*. See note to page 70, line 15. **assiduissimi usus**: *intended for every-day use;* see Introd. II. § 4. *b*.

29. Circa libidines haesit: *he continued to be involved in intrigues with women. Libidines* is here used in contrast to *impudicitiae* in line 25, above; cf. page 27, line 7, *impudicitiae et adulteriorum*. See Introd. II. § 5. *f*. (3).

31. ab uxore: Dio (LVIII. 2. 5) relates that Livia was once asked how it was that she had such control over Augustus. Her reply, he states, was that she was always most discreet, herself, and gladly did whatever met with his approval, but otherwise did not meddle in his affairs and affected to take no notice of the 'playthings of his passions'. Tacitus (*Ann*. V. 1. 5) speaks of Livia as *uxor facilis et cum artibus mariti*. **Aleae rumorem**, etc.: the numerous *tabulae lusoriae* inscribed on the marble pavement of the *basilica Iulia* still bear silent testimony to the open gambling in ancient Rome, however severe may have been the penalties prescribed against it. Both Claudius and Domitian are said to have been inveterate gamesters; cf. *Claud*. 33. 2; *Dom*. 21.

Page 88. **2. praeterquam Decembri mense**: the license of the Saturnalia, December seventeenth to twenty-third, which even placed slaves on an equal footing with their masters during this period of good cheer, allowed free scope for one's gambling propensities, law or no law. Cf. Macr., *Sat*. I. 7. 37; Mart. IV. 14. 6 ff. On the Saturnalia see Fowler, *Rom. Fest*. 268 ff. But Augustus was deterred by no compunctions on any day of the year.

3. profestis diebus: *working days*, as well as holidays; see Paul. *ex* Fest. 252, M.: *Profestum diem dicebant qui festus non erat*. Cf. *Dom*.

21: *alea se oblectabat, etiam profestis diebus matutinisque horis;* Liv. XXXIV. 3. 9, *ut carpentis festis profestisque diebus . . . per urbem vectemur.*

4. **Autographa**: a borrowed word; see Introd. II. § 1. *d.* **epistula**: local ablative; see Introd. II. § 4. *r.*

5. **accesserunt convivae**: *there were, besides, as guests.*

6. **Vinicius et Silius**: for Vinicius see note to page 82, line 32. A Gaius Silius was consul in 13 A.D.; see *Aug.* 101. 1. **Inter cenam**: cf. line 27, below; see Introd. II. § 5. *l.* (2).

7. **gerontikos**: the Greek word, γεροντικῶς, *like an old man;* see Introd. II. § 1. *d.* Such games were especially recognized as diversions for old men. Cf. Cic., *Cat. Mai.* 16. 58: *nobis senibus ex lusionibus multis talos relinquant et tesseras.*

8. **talis**: only four sides of the *tali* were marked, the other two sides being rounded; whereas all six sides of the *tesserae* were marked as are our dice to-day. On the *tali* the ace, *unio*, was on the side opposite the six points, *senio;* while the three points, *ternio*, and four points, *quaternio*, were on the other two sides. Four *tali* were used in playing. They were shaken in a box, called *fritillus* or *turris*, and thrown upon a gaming board. The highest throw, called *Venus*, was when all four came out with different numbers; the worst or lowest throw, called *canis*, when they were all the same. Only three *tesserae* were used, and the highest throw was three sixes; the lowest, three aces.

10. **in medium conferebat**: *contributed to the pool.*

12. **Quinquatrus**: at first a feast on March nineteenth, the fifth day after the Ides, it came finally to extend over five days, the eighteenth to the twenty-third, and to be permanently associated with Minerva. June thirteenth was known as *Quinquatrus minusculae.* See Fowler, *Rom. Fest.* 57 ff., 157 ff.

14. **forumque aleatorum calfecimus**: *we kept the gaming board warm; forum* is from *forus.*

15. **magnis clamoribus rem gessit**: *exclaimed loudly against the way things went; i.e.* against his own ill luck. **ad summam**: see Introd. II. § 5. *b.* (8).

18. **retractum est**: *he got it back*, retrenched his losses.

19. **meo nomine**: *for my part.*

21. **quas manus remisi**: *the stakes that I let go.*

23. **benignitas enim mea**, etc.: another instance of his calculating disposition, *ratione commissa;* cf. *Aug.* 69. 1. Or is it a jest?

25. **Misi**: *I send;* the so-called epistolary perfect.

28. par impar: *even and odd;* a game in the class of children's amusements, played by guessing whether the number of nuts held in the opponent's hand is odd or even. Cf. Hor., *Sat.* II. 3. 248, *Ludere par impar*.

Chapter 72. City Residences. Villas. Adornment of Houses

31. Scalas Anularias: *the Ringmakers' Stairs.* Platner (*Anc. Rome*², 134) thinks a flight of steps at the north corner of the Palatine, leading up from the Forum behind the temple of Castor, may have been the stairway here mentioned. Yet the location seems hardly in keeping with our author's statements, *primo iuxta Romanum forum . . . postea in Palatio.* Was the house of Calvus *in Palatio*, also? The language here does not so indicate. **Calvi**: Gaius Licinius Calvus, distinguished orator and poet, to whom his intimate friend Catullus addressed three of his extant odes (XIV, L, XCVI). He lived from 82 to 47 B.C.

32. in Palatio: Dio (LIII. 16. 5 f.) makes this interesting statement: 'The royal residence is called *palatium*, not because it was actually ever thought proper that it should be so called, but because Caesar lived on the Palatine and had his chief residence there, and his house received from the entire hill a certain degree of fame that was also associated with the previous residence of Romulus on it. And for this reason, even if the emperor lodges somewhere else, his abiding place has the name of *palatium*.'

Page 89. **1. aedibus modicis Hortensianis**: when the house of the orator Q. Hortensius, Cicero's friend and rival, who lived from 114 to 50 B.C., was given to Augustus by vote of the senate in 36 B.C., he dedicated the site already purchased to the use of the public for the construction of the temple of Apollo and other public works; cf. Dio XLIX. 15. 5. After the fire of 2 A.D. he rebuilt the house on a more magnificent scale, it seems, but dedicated the entire building to the public; cf. Dio (-Xiph.) LV. 12. 5, and see note to page 80, line 8. The house of Catiline, which adjoined it, was apparently incorporated in the new residence; cf. *Gram.* 17: *docuitque in atrio Catulinae domus, quae pars Palatii tunc erat*, etc.

2. ut in quibus, etc.: see Introd. II. § 8. *j.* **Albanarum columnarum**: *columns of Alban stone. Lapis Albanus* is a hard gray conglomerate of volcanic ashes and sand, together with fragments of stone. Its current name of 'peperino' is due to the presence in it, in large quantities, of scoriae which resemble peppercorns (*piper*). It was quarried in the Alban hills. See Platner, *Anc. Rome*², 22 f.

3. sine marmore ullo, etc.: the floors of such houses were often made of the finest marbles, whether laid in mosaics or in larger slabs.

4. conclavia: a *conclave* was any kind of room that could be put under lock and key (*clavis*).

5. eodem cubiculo, etc.: cf. *Aug.* 82. 1. **quamvis parum salubrem**, etc.: *although he found the city unwholesome in the winter and yet continued to spend his winters in the city.* This is evidently the writer's meaning if the reading *hiemaret* is to be retained.

8. locus in edito singularis: *a secluded place at the top of the house.*

9. Syracusas: a name chosen, possibly, with reference to the study of Archimedes or to the use of such rooms in Syracuse, as has been suggested in the edition of H. T. Peck, who is followed by Rolfe (in the Loeb translation), on the basis of Nep., *Dion.* 9. 1: *cum a conventu se remotum Dion domi teneret atque in conclavi edito recubuisset.* But would not the charm of the city's location and its literary associations of the past be sufficient reason, if reason be demanded, for an emperor's choice of this name for his φροντιστήριον ('reflectory')? **technyphion**: τεχνύφιον, *little studio*, like τεχνύδριον; a diminutive of τέχνη. See Introd. II. § 1. *d.*

10. suburbanum: sc. *praedium; suburban manor.*

11. in domo Maecenatis: on the Esquiline, considered a healthy spot by Horace (*Sat.* I. 8. 14): *Nunc licet Esquiliis habitare salubribus.* Cf. *Tib.* 15. 1: *Esquilias in hortos Maecenatianos transmigravit totumque se ad quietem contulit.* Maecenas made Augustus heir to his estate; cf. Dio LV. 7. 5.

12. insulasque Campaniae: Capreae, modern Capri; Aenaria, modern Ischia; Prochyta, modern Procida; Pandataria, modern Vantotene. Capreae was particularly attractive to the emperor; cf. *Aug.* 92. 2.

13. Lanuvium, Praeneste, Tibur: modern Cività Lavinia, Palestrina and Tivoli, respectively; all less than twenty-five miles from Rome. Horace sings in praise of the refreshing atmosphere of Praeneste and Tibur (*Od.* III. 4. 22–24):

seu mihi frigidum
Praeneste seu Tibur supinum
Seu liquidae placuere Baiae;

but would have Tibur be his last resting-place in old age; see *Od.* II. 6. 5 ff. Is the court poet also voicing imperial preferences?

14. Herculis templi: spacious enough to contain a notable library and famous enough to invite frequent mention; cf. Gell. XIX. 5. 4, IX. 14. 3; Juv. XIV. 86 ff.; Mart. I. 12. 1, IV. 57. 9; Prop. V. 7. 80 f.

15. praetoria: *country houses.* Cf. *Tib.* 39, *in praetorio, cui Speluncae nomen est; Calig.* 37. 2, *In extructionibus praetoriorum atque villarum.* For a different meaning see note to page 59, line 5.

16. neptis . . . Iuliae: sc. *praedia.*

19. xystis: *terraces;* walks planted with trees and flowers: cf. Plin., *Ep.* II. 17. 17, *Ante cryptoporticum xystus violis odoratus;* V. 6. 16, *Ante porticum xystus concisus in plurimas species distinctusque buxo.* For a different meaning see note to page 74, line 17. Cf. Introd. II. § 1. *d.* There might be 'groves of trees' (*nemoribus*) in the courts or gardens of the house.

21. ferarumque membra . . . arma heroum: the chiastic order is noticeable; see Introd. II. § 10. *h.*

Chapter 73. Simplicity of House Furnishings. Usual Dress

23. Instrumenti eius et supellectilis: the former word refers rather to the household furnishings; the latter, to the furniture of the rooms. See note to page 87, line 28.

25. privatae elegantiae: *of a fineness suitable for private life;* see Introd. II. § 4. *b.*

26. Veste . . . domestica: *home-made clothing,* as distinguished from *forensia* or *vestis forensis;* cf. *Vit.* 8. 1: *subito a militibus e cubiculo raptus, ita ut erat in veste domestica, imperator est consalutatus.*

30. altiusculis: *rather high-soled;* an adjective found only here. See Introd. II. § 1. *e.* **forensia**: *clothing to wear in public;* street dress. The *toga,* primarily, is meant, in contrast to the *tunica,* most commonly worn alone indoors. The *laena, lacerna* and *paenula* might, also, be worn out of doors on occasions. Cf. *Calig.* 17. 2: *posteriore epulo forensia insuper viris, feminis ac pueris fascias purpurae ac conchylii distribuit.*

31. numquam non; *always;* see Introd. II. § 10. *k.*

Chapter 74. Dinner Parties

Page 90. **1. Convivabatur**: *he gave dinner parties.* **nec umquam nisi recta**: sc. *cena; and always with a formal dinner.* The *cena recta* was a regular dinner, with the guests reclining at table, as distinguished from the *sportula,* an informal meal or a distribution of food. Cf. *Claud.* 21. 4, *quodque appellare coepit sportulam, quia primum daturus edixerat, velut ad subitam condictamque cenulam invitare se populum; Dom.*

7. 1 : *sportulas publicas sustulit revocata rectarum cenarum consuetudine.* See Friedländer, *Rom. Life and Manners* (Engl. Transl.), IV. 77 ff.

2. **Valerius Messala** : see note to page 80, line 21.

3. **adhibitum . . . cenae**: see Introd. II. § 4. *j*.

4. **Mena**: Menas, or Menodorus, a freedman of Pompey the Great, served under Sextus Pompeius, but twice deserted to Augustus, in 38 B.C. while in command of the fleet at Corsica and Sardinia and again in 36 B.C.; see Dio XLVIII. 45. 6, 54. 7, XLIX. 1. 4 f. He was killed in the Pannonian campaign of 35 B.C.; cf. Dio XLIX. 37. 6. **asserto in ingenuitatem** : *when he had been declared one of the free born;* cf. App., *B.C.* V. 80. 338. With this phrase compare *Vit.* 10. 2, *quoscumque libuisset in libertatem asserebant.* This was accomplished by a formal suit at law; see Greenidge, *Rom. Publ. Life*, 134 ff.

5. **Ipse scribit** : in his Memoirs ; see notes to page 47, line 4, and page 95, line 3.

6. **speculator**: see note to page 61, line 16. His stopping at the house of one of his body-guards is in keeping with the statement in *Aug.* 72. 2.

10. **ternis ferculis** : *of three courses each;* cf. Hor., *Sat.* II. 6. 104 : *Multaque de magna superessent fercula cena.* Horace gives the order of courses in *Sat.* II. 8. 6 ff. The courses were called *gustatio*, *cena* and *secunda mensa*, respectively. When six courses were given, the second course (*cena*) would become *prima*, *altera*, *tertia cena.* See Mayor on Juvenal, I. 94. **cum abundantissime**: a verb, *praeberet* or *cenaret*, is easily supplied.

12. **summissim**: *in a low voice;* cited for only one other passage, Gell. XVII. 8. 7: *cum omnes sensim atque summissim rideremus.* See Introd. II. § 1. *f*.

13. **acroamata** : *artists*, entertainers at table, whether musicians or readers. *Acroama* (ἀκρόαμα) is at first used of 'what is heard with pleasure'. From this usage is derived, by metonymy, the meaning in the plural, as in the Greek, which we have here. See Introd. II. § 1. *d*.

14. **triviales . . . ludios** : *strolling players from the circus*, which was the rendezvous of all these catch-penny artists.

15. **aretalogos** : *story-tellers;* ἀρεταλόγους, originally would-be Stoic or Cynic philosophers who gave disquisitions on virtue for the entertainment of their auditors. Juvenal (XV. 16) speaks of the *mendax aretalogus.* Their garrulous propensities and incredible stories were, no doubt, their stock in trade at this time. See Introd. II. § 1. *d.* When Augustus could not sleep, he would send for *fabulatores*, too ; see *Aug.* 78. 2.

Chapter 75. Observance of Festivals. Lotteries as Amusement

16. profusissime : see Introd. II. § 1. *b*.

17. Saturnalibus : see note to page 88, line 2. Book XIV of Martial's Epigrams is the *locus classicus* for such features of the festival as friendly calls, games and presentation of gifts.

19. omnis notae : *of every stamp, device;* cf. *Ner.* 25. 2, *qua nota etiam nummum percussit.* **veteres regios** : *old pieces of the regal period.*

20. cilicia : = Κιλίκια, coverings, originally made of Cilician goats' hair, used by soldiers and mariners ; so 'hair cloth'.

21. id genus : adverbial accusative ; see Introd. II. § 4. *p.* **titulis obscuris et ambiguis** : *with misleading labels of double meaning.* These *tituli* were, probably, attached to the parcels containing the gifts and possessed a double-entendre that would not be appreciated until the packages were opened.

22. inaequalissimarum rerum sortes : *lottery tickets for articles most unequal in value.*

23. aversas tabularum picturas : = *aversas tabulas pictas.*

25. ita ut . . . fieret : see Introd. II. § 8. *m.* The bidding was to be general. The bids were 'pooled' from couch to couch. **per singulos lectos** : see Introd. II. § 5. *n.* (1).

Chapter 76. Habits of Eating

27. Cibi . . . minimi : *a very light eater;* see Introd. II. § 4. *b.* **omiserim** : see Introd. II. § 8. *a.*

28. Secundarium panem : *coarse bread;* made of coarser meal than the finest. **pisciculos minutos** : *tiny little fishes.* The same use of the diminutive with an adjective added for emphasis occurs in Ter., *Andr.* 369, *Holera et pisciculos minutos ferre obolo in cenam seni.* See Introd. II. § 1. *e.*

29. caseum bibulum manu pressum : *moist cheese made by hand;* apparently, fresh home-made cheese as opposed to imported varieties. But *bubulum*, 'made of cow's milk', seems a preferable reading to *bibulum* of our text.

30. biferas : *of the second crop;* lit., 'that bear fruit twice a year'.

31. stomachus desiderasset : *his appetite demanded it.*

32. Verba ipsius . . . sunt : see Introd. II. § 7. *a.*

Page 91. 1. **essedo**: *essedum*, originally a war chariot of the Gauls and Britons, came to mean a carriage for travelling, especially for dignitaries; cf. *Calig.* 51. 2, *cum trans Rhenum inter angustias densumque agmen iter essedo faceret.* **palmulas**: see Introd. II. § 1. *e.*

2. **regia**: according to tradition, the royal residence of Numa Pompilius, the *regia*, at the beginning of the *Sacra Via*, was given to the *pontifex maximus* as his dwelling place. In historical times the Regia was the official headquarters of the *pontifex maximus*, not his residence. As restored by Cn. Domitius Calvinus after the fire of 36 B.C. it is thought to have been a building of splendid beauty; cf. Dio XLVIII. 42. 5. It was then that the *fasti Capitolini*, as the *fasti consulares et triumphales* are now called, were used to decorate its walls and indicated its character as an archive. Interesting remains from the three periods of its restorations may still be seen. See Platner, *Anc. Rome*², 210 ff. For a discussion of the meaning of *regia* in our passage see J. C. Rolfe in *T. A. P. A.* XLV (1914). 35 ff. Cf. note to page 24, line 2.

3. **acinis uvae duracinae**: *berries from a cluster of hard grapes;* and so fit only for eating, not for making wine. *Uvae* here means 'cluster of grapes'; *duracinae*, 'hard-berried'. Cf. Mart. XIII. 22:

> *Non habilis cyathis et inutilis uva Lyaeo,*
> *Sed non potanti me tibi nectar ero.*

See Rolfe in *Proc. Am. Phil. Assn.* XLIV (1913), pages XLIX f.

5. **sabbatis ieiunium servat**: *keeps the fast on his Sabbaths.* It was mistakenly supposed that the Sabbath was a Jewish fast day because the Jews abstained from business pursuits on the seventh day; cf. Hor., *Sat.* I. 9. 69 f.: *hodie tricesima sabbata; vin tu curtis Judaeis oppedere?*

7. **post horam primam noctis**: in general, after six o'clock in the evening. Pliny (*Ep.* III. 1. 8) informs us of the usual hour for the bath: *Ubi hora balinei nuntiata est* (*est autem hieme nona, aestate octava*), etc.

8. **buccas**: *mouthfuls;* cf. Mart. X. 5. 5, *Oret caninas panis improbi buccas.*

11. **pleno convivio**: *at the full board;* while all the guests were present. See note to page 77, line 3.

Chapter 77. Abstemious Habits

13. **super cenam**: see Introd. II. § 5. *r.* (2). (*a*).

14. **Cornelius Nepos**: lived between 99 and 24 B.C. We possess parts of his most comprehensive work, *De Viris Illustribus.* His five

books of *Exempla*, mainly treating of the history of customs and manners, are supposed to have contained the quotation here given; see Teuffel-Schwabe, *Hist. of Rom. Lit.* (Engl. Transl.), I, page 343.

15. se invitaret: *indulged himself.* **senos sextantes**: *a pint* (*each time*), since a *sextans*, liquid measure, equals the sixth part of a *sextarius*, which was about a pint of our measure.

16. reiciebat: by means of an emetic, doubtless. Others carried this practice to an extreme; cf. *Vit.* 13. 1: *epulas . . . dispertiebat . . . facile omnibus sufficiens vomitandi consuetudine.* **Raetico**: sc. *vino;* from the district north of Verona, the chief town being Tridentum, modern Trent. Vergil ranks this wine after the Falernian; cf. *Geor.* II. 96. Augustus had the good grace, it is said (Plin., *N. H.* XIV. 6. 72), to drink whatever was served him at a dinner.

17. neque temere: *and rarely;* see note to page 54, line 6.

19. lactuculae: see Introd. II. § 1. *e.* **suci vinosioris**: *with rather a tart flavor;* more nearly like that of an acid wine. See Introd. II. § 4. *b.*

Chapter 78. Habits of Rest and Study

21. cibum meridianum: *his mid-day meal;* the *prandium*, taken about noon. The *cena* came later in the day.

22. retectis pedibus: *with his feet uncovered; i.e.* without any of the bed clothes over them, since he wore his shoes.

23. A cena: see Introd. II. § 5. *a.* (1). **lecticulam . . . lucubratoriam**: *his study couch. Lecticula*, 'a small litter' or 'sedan', seems to occur only here in this signification; while *lucubratorius*, 'for study by lamp-light', is quoted for this passage alone. See Introd. II. § 1. *a* and *e.*

24. residua diurni actus: *what remained of the day's business;* perhaps, with particular reference to court proceedings (*actus rerum*, page 65, line 28), which he 'finished' (*conficeret*) in the seclusion of his study.

25. ad multam noctem: see Introd. II. § 5. *b.* (7).

26. cum plurimum: the verb is easily supplied from *dormiebat.*

28. sed ut . . . expergisceretur: see Introd. II. § 8. *m.* **in illo . . . spatio**: see Introd. II. § 5. *k.* (2). (*a*).

30. fabulatoribus: see note to page 90, line 15. Cf. *Esther*, VI. 1. See Introd. II. § 1. *b.*

31. resumebat: sc. *somnum.*

32. nisi assidente aliquo: see Introd. II. § 6. *l.*

Page 92. 1. Matutina vigilia offendebatur: *it annoyed him to waken early in the morning. Vigilia* is in the ablative case.

2. ne id contra commodum faceret: *to avoid inconvenience in the performance of it.*

3. cuiuscumque domesticorum cenaculo: *in the room of any whatsoever of the members of his household;* see note to page 73, line 25, for the meaning of *cenaculo.*

5. dum . . . deportaretur: see Introd. II. § 8. *f.*

6. inter . . . moras: see Introd. II. § 5. *l.* (2).

Chapter 79. Personal Appearance. Bright Eyes and Short Stature

7. Forma fuit eximia, etc.: *he was strikingly handsome in appearance and most graceful at all stages of his life.*

8. lenocinii neglegens: *indifferent to personal adornment;* see Introd. II. § 4. *a.*

9. in capite comendo, etc.: see Introd. II. § 5. *k.* (2). (*b*). **raptim**: see Introd. II. § 1. *f.*

10. tonderet . . . raderet: *clipped . . . shaved.*

15. destinarat: see Introd. II. § 8. *c.*

16. propius admissus: *when allowed to come rather close to him.* **praecipitium**: *a cliff, precipice;* late and rare in this literal sense: see Introd. II. § 1. *b.*

20. in senecta: see Introd. II. § 5. *k.* (2). (*a*).

21. scabros: *ill kept, rough* from lack of attention.

22. subflavum: *inclined to be golden;* occurs only here: see Introd. II. § 1. *b.*

23. nasum et a summo, etc.: a typical 'Roman nose'. See Introd. II. § 9. *a.* (6).

25. Iulius Marathus: Marathus (Μάραθος) is the name of an ancient Phoenician city. Perhaps this was a Greek from that district.

26. †etiam memoriam: the emendation, *et a memoria,* proposed by Lipsius, is nearest the corrupted text. It would then mean, 'and keeper of his records'. See *Aug.* 94. 3. **quinque pedum et dodrantis**: *five feet and nine inches in height;* a little less than five feet, seven inches, English measure.

27. commoditate et aequitate membrorum: *the fine proportion and symmetry of his figure.*

Chapter 80. Physical Blemishes and Defects

30. Corpore traditur maculoso: sc. *fuisse*; see Introd. II. § 10. *d.* (1).

32. caelestis ursae: *the bear in the heavens*; Ursa Major, Charles's Wain, the Great Dipper.

Page 93. 1. strigilis: *the strigil*, or *flesh-scraper*; curved in form and made of bone, bronze, iron or silver; used by bathers to remove perspiration and skin impurities. The wealthy classes took their slaves to the baths with them in order to have the slaves use the *strigiles* on them; cf. Spartian., *Hadr.* 17, 5 f., for the case of a man who had no slave for this duty until Hadrian gave him one.

2 ad impetiginis formam: *resembling eczema.*

4. inclaudicaret: *was somewhat lame*; does not occur elsewhere: see Introd. II. § 1. *a.* **remedio harenarum atque harundinum**: *by an application of sand and reeds*; explained as being a kind of poultice made of heated sand and crushed reeds. Gellius (XIX. 8. 3) speaks of the use of *harenis calentibus* in a case of dropsy. Pliny (*N. H.* XXIV. 11. 85 ff.) enumerates the various kinds of reeds and mentions the healing properties which they possessed when applied in different ways. The reeds may have been used as splints to relieve the emperor's lameness. Others read *habenarum* and explain the phrase as meaning a 'surgical bandage' or 'truss'.

5. digitum salutarem: *the forefinger*; also called *digitus index*. *Salutaris* is thought to refer to the use of the finger in greetings.

7. cornei circuli: *a fingerstall of horn.*

Chapter 81. Severe Illnesses and Chronic Disorders

11. valitudines: for Augustus's illnesses see notes to page 49, line 25, and page 52, line 4.

12. Cantabria domita: see note to page 56, line 30.

13. destillationibus: *abscesses.*

16. auctore . . . Musa: see note to page 81, line 1.

18. sub natalem suum: September twenty-third; cf. note to page 67, line 19.

20. austrinis . . . tempestatibus gravedine: *at times when the South wind blew, with catarrh.* Cf. note to page 67, line 19. **quassato corpore**: *because of his impaired constitution.*

Chapter 82. Precautions against Illness. Modes of Travel. Manner of Bathing

22. subucula: *an undergarment, undershirt;* cf. Hor., *Ep.* I. 1. 95 f.: *si forte subucula pexae trita subest tunicae.*

23. thorace laneo, etc.: *a woolen chest protector and wraps for the thighs and leggings.* For *feminalibus* see Introd. II. § 1. *b.*

24. peristylo: *the open court,* surrounded by a colonnade, upon which the bedchambers would open.

25. Solis . . . patiens: see Introd. II. § 4. *a.*

27. petasatus: *wearing a broad-brimmed hat.* The *petasus* was ordinarily worn by travelers; cf. Cic., *ad Fam.* XV. 17. 1: *atque id ipsum facerent commodius si mihi aliquid spatii ad scribendum darent, sed petasati veniunt, comites ad portam exspectare dicunt.*

28. minuta: *by easy stages.* **Praeneste vel Tibur**: see note to page 89, line 13.

Page 94. **1. egelida aqua,** etc.: *lukewarm water or made tepid from long exposure to the sun.*

2. nervorum causa: *for his muscular rheumatism.* **marinis Albulisque calidis**: sc. *thermis; warm salt-water and sulphur baths:* see Introd. II. § 3. *b.* The *Albulae aquae* were the sulphur springs which empty into the Anio between Rome and Tivoli; the modern Acque Albule at Bagnoli, still open for the reception of patients. Cf. Plin., *N. H.* XXXI. 2. 10: *Iuxta Romam Albulae aquae volneribus medentur egelidae.* In Nero's palace there were *balineae marinis et albulis fluentes aquis;* see *Ner.* 31. 2.

3. ligneo solio: *a wooden bath seat.*

4. duretam: see Introd. II. § 1. *b.*

Chapter 83. Sports and Diversions

7. pilam, folliculum: *pass-ball, balloon-ball.* Various games of ball were played by the Romans, and several kinds of balls were used. The *pila* was a small, rather compact ball and was used in one of the favorite games, called *trigon.* Three players stood so as to form a triangle (hence the name) and passed the ball, or balls, from one to another, with either hand, in rapid succession. The winner, apparently, was the one who dropped the ball the fewest times. Cf. Hor., *Sat.* I. 6, 126: *fugio campum lusumque trigonem.* The *folliculus* (diminutive of *follis*)

was the largest, lightest and softest ball used by the Romans. It was inflated, like the modern football, but softer and more pliant. The players wore on the right arm a guard with which they struck the ball. See W. B. McDaniel in *T. A. P. A.* XXXVII (1906). 121 ff. For *folliculus* see Introd. II. § 1. *e.*

8. **nihil aliud** : sc. *fecit; i.e.* by way of exercise. The ellipsis of the verb was, no doubt, hardly felt, *nihil aliud quam* being merely equivalent to *tantummodo.* **deambulabat** : *took walks;* cf. page 103, line 10, *deambulanti in litore.*

9. **ita ut . . . decurreret** : see Introd. II. § 8. *m.* **subsultim** : *by leaps and bounds;* found only here : see Introd. II. § 1. *a* and *f.* **†sestertio vel lodicula** : for the untranslatable *sestertio* and other variant readings of the MSS. Roth's emendation, *segestria,* is to be preferred. The meaning is then plain : *in mantle or in blanket.* See Introd. II. § 1. *e,* for *lodicula.*

11. **ocellatis** : *marbles,* with markings of spots or eyes (*ocelli*); probably made of agate or variegated stone. **nucibus** : games with nuts were so identified with childhood and its sports by the Romans that *nuces relinquere* was a phrase for 'putting away childish things'; cf. Pers., *Sat.* I. 10, *nucibus facimus quaecumque relictis;* Cat. LXI. 131–133:

Da nuces pueris, iners
Concubine; satis diu
Lusisti nucibus.

14. **pumilos atque distortos** : *dwarfs and deformed persons.*

15. **ludibria naturae malique ominis** : see Introd. II. § 10. *a* and, for *mali ominis,* II. § 4. *b.*

Chapter 84. Oratorical Ability. Written Discourses. Enunciation

16. **Eloquentiam studiaque,** etc.: see note to page 49, line 31, and compare Tac., *Ann.* XIII. 3. 4: *Augusto prompta ac profluens quae deceret principem eloquentia fuit.* Mention has been made of the *laudationes* he delivered, beginning at the age of twelve years; see *Aug.* 8. 1.

17. **Mutinensi bello** : see Introd. II. § 4. *q.*

22. **ad subita extemporali facultate** : *ability to speak off-hand without preparation* ; see Introd. II. § 5. *b.* (4).

24. **recitare** : *read (from a manuscript).*

25. **cum Livia sua** : sc. *uxore.* **non nisi scriptos** : see Introd. II. § 6. *m.*

26. libello : *a notebook.*

28. phonasco : *teacher of elocution;* cf. *Ner.* 25. 3 : *ut conservandae vocis gratia . . . neque quicquam serio iocove egerit nisi astante phonasco qui moneret parceret arteriis ac sudarium ad os applicaret;* where it is used to mean 'singing-master'. See Introd. II. § 1. *d.* **infirmatis faucibus** : *because of weakness of the throat.*

Chapter 85. Augustus's Compositions

32. Rescripta Bruto de Catone : *Reply to Brutus on Cato.* Among the *laudationes* of M. Porcius Cato (95–46 B.C.) was that of his nephew, M. Junius Brutus, published in 46 B.C. Cicero thought Brutus exaggerated Cato's services in the Catilinarian conspiracy at the expense of Cicero himself; cf. Cic., *ad Att.* XII. 21. 1, XIII. 46. 2.

Page 95. **3. de Vita Sua** : these Memoirs are often quoted by Suetonius; cf. *Aug.* 2. 3, 7. 1, 27. 4, 42. 3, 62. 2, 74.

4. Cantabrico tenus bello : see note to page 56, line 30. Cf. Introd. II. § 5. *s.* (1).

5. summatim : *slightly;* see Introd. II. § 1. *f.*

7. Sicilia : his study he called 'Syracuse'; his hexameters, 'Sicily': see note to page 89, line 9.

9. non succedenti stilo : *because his style was not successful,* was unsatisfactory. *Stilus* is late and rare in this sense; cf. *Tib.* 70. 1, *adfectatione et morositate nimia obscurabat stilum.* See Introd. II. § 1. *b.*

10. amicis : Macrobius (*Sat.* II. 4. 2) mentions as one of these friends L. Varius, himself a tragic poet.

11. Aiacem suum, etc.: the original Ajax fell upon his sword; cf. Soph., *Ajax,* 898 f.

Chapter 86. Style of Speaking. Dislike of Pedantry and Archaisms

13. vitatis sententiarum, etc. : *avoiding the absurdities of sententious sayings and an artificial order.*

14. fetoribus : *stenches.*

15. praecipuamque curam duxit : *considered it his chief concern.*

20. Cacozelos : = κακοζήλους; *bad imitators, pedants.* See Introd. II. § 1. *d.* **antiquarios** : *archaizers;* those fond of using archaic forms and expressions.

23. myrobrechis . . . cincinnos : *locks dripping with perfumes* (μυροβρεχεῖς); as symbolic of the affectations of his style, while involving

a criticism, as well, of his notoriously luxurious habits of living: see Mayor's note on Juvenal, I. 66. For *myrobrechis* see Introd. II. § 1. *d.*

24. per iocum irridet: Macrobius (*Sat.* II. 4. 12) gives an instance of these jesting parodies on his prime minister. **Sed nec**: = *sed ne . . . quidem;* see Introd. II. § 6. *j.*

26. Antonium . . . increpat: Cicero (*Phil.* III. 9. 22) thus attacks Antony's style: *Nonne satius est mutum esse quam quod nemo intellegat dicere?* Antony imitated the florid style of the Asiatic school; cf. Plut., *Ant.* II.

27. quasi ea scribentem: see Introd. II. § 6. *m.*

30. Cimberne Annius: T. Annius Cimber was apparently a professional teacher before entering politics as a partisan of Antony. Our passage makes him out to be an archaizing grammarian of the day. See Teuffel-Schwabe, *Hist. of Rom. Lit.* (Engl. Transl.), I. 377 f. Veranius Flaccus would belong to the same category.

31. ita ut . . . utaris: see Introd. II. § 8. *m.*

32. Crispus Sallustius: C. Sallustius Crispus (86–34 B.C.) followed Greek models in the composition of his historical works, but in his style he imitated archaic writers, particularly Cato the Elder (234–149 B.C.), fragments of whose *Origines*, an historical work in seven books, are extant to-day. Suetonius's criticism (*Gram.* 10) of Sallust is noteworthy: *cum sibi sciat nihil aliud suadere quam ut noto civilique et proprio sermone utatur, vitetque maxime obscuritatem Sallustii et audaciam in translationibus.* For the order, *Crispus Sallustius*, see Introd II. § 10. *b.* (3).

Page 96. **2. inanis sententiis verborum volubilitas**: *the unmeaning and verbose fluency;* as distinguished from the severe simplicity of the Attic school of oratory, with its sparing use of ornamental and rhetorical devices.

4. Agrippinae: see page 82, line 23.

6. moleste: *affectedly;* so as to give offense.

Chapter 87. Favorite Expressions. Mannerisms in Writing

8. autographae: = αὐτόγραφοι. Our author's interest in original sources is everywhere apparent. Compare page 88, line 4, where he quotes another letter in the emperor's handwriting.

10. ad Kalendas Graecas: *on the Greek Kalends, i.e.* never; as mythical as the actual payment of the debt. Cf. Introd. II. § 5. *b.* (4).

Horace (*Sat.* I. 3. 87) speaks of *tristes Kalendae*, but with reference to the payment of interest on the first day of the month.

12. hoc Catone: *our present Cato.* Valerius Maximus (II. 10. 8) says of Cato's *perfecta virtus: Quae quidem effecit ut quisquis sanctum et egregium civem significare velit, sub nomine Catonis definiat.* But the unattainable is not to be expected even from a Cato!

15. baceolum: probably from βάκηλος, which is defined by Hesychius as ἀνόητος; and so, '*stupid dolt*' *instead of* '*fool*' may be the meaning here. See Introd. II. § 1. *b.* **apud pullum pulleiaceum**: *pro pullo* of certain MSS. is to be preferred to *apud pullum: for* '*dark*', '*darkish*'. *Pulleiaceum* is quoted only for this passage. See Introd. II. § 1. *b.* **pro cerrito vacerrosum**: *for* '*crack-brained*', '*blockhead*'; since *vacerra*, 'log', 'stock', is used, like *stipes*, for 'stock', 'block' as a term of abuse. See Introd. II. § 1. *b.*

16. vapide se habere pro male: '*feel stale*' *for* '*feel bad*'. *Vapidus* is used of stale, flat wine; cf. *vappa.* See Introd. II. § 1. *b.*

17. betizare pro languere, etc.: '*be dead beet* (*beat*)' *for* '*be dead tired*' *which in vulgar phrase is* '*be* (*like*) *dead vegetables*'. Some such word-play is probably intended. *Betizare* is evidently connected with *beta*, 'beet'; cf. Cat. LXVII. 21, *Languidior tenera . . . beta.* See Introd. II. § 1. *b.* The colloquialism, or slang expression, *lachanizare* is a Latin verb, it seems, formed on the root of the Greek λάχανα, 'vegetable greens', λαχανίζομαι, 'gather vegetables'; see Introd. II. § 1. *d.*

18. simus pro sumus: *simus* and *sumus*, subjunctive and indicative, may have represented the same change as is noticeable in *maximus*, *maxumus.* Or it may have been an instance of analogy at work. See Lindsay, *Lat. Lang.* 29. **casu**: *casus* was used by the Latin grammarians to translate the technical term πτῶσις of the Greek. *Genetivus* (*casus*) does not, however, properly translate ἡ γενικὴ πτῶσις of the Greek.

19. domuos: the older form of the genitive, with the suffix *-os;* while *domus* is the later form, with the suffix *-s.* There was no form *domos* for this case. Possibly, Augustus used it for *domus* on the analogy of *domus*, *domos* in the accusative plural. See Lindsay, *Lat. Lang.* 380 f.

21. chirographo: *chirographon* = χειρόγραφον, *one's own handwriting.* For its use here see Introd. II. § 2. *a.* **illa**: = *haec.*

22. versuum: *lines;* not verses of poetry.

23. subicit circumducitque: *writes them below* (*the rest of the word*) *and draws a ring around them.*

Chapter 88. Augustus's Spelling. His Cipher Code

25. Orthographiam : = ὀρθογραφίαν, a word not used in either Greek or Latin till later times, and then but rarely except in titles of works like Verrius's *de Orthographia;* cf. *Gram.* 19. Therefore our author here defines the word. See Introd. II. § 1. *d.*

27. scribendum ac loquamur : *we should spell as we pronounce.* There were advocates of the Reformed Spelling at the time of Augustus !

Page 97. 1. per notas : *in cipher;* cf. *Jul.* 56. 6; Gell. XVII. 9. 1 ff. Dio (LI. 3. 7) makes a similar statement regarding the code in cipher of Augustus.

Chapter 89. Greek Studies and Teachers. Public Readings. Patronage of Literary Artists

6. Apollodoro Pergameno : Apollodorus of Pergamum, founder of a rhetorical school or sect that was named after him and was opposed to that of Theodorus of Gadara. Strabo (XIII. 4. 3) says: 'And the friendship of Augustus Caesar, in particular, exalted Apollodorus, who became his teacher of declamation.' Tacitus (*Dial.* 19) speaks of *quidquid aliud aridissimis Hermagorae et Apollodori libris praecipitur.* See Wilh. Christ, *Gesch. d. Griech. Litt.*[3], 750.

7. Apolloniam : see note to page 49, line 31.

9. Arei : Areius Didymus, an eclectic Stoic from Alexandria, who wrote an epitome of the ethical and physical teachings of Plato, Aristotle and the Stoa, from which a fragment has been preserved by Eusebius. Augustus ostensibly spared the Alexandrians partly because of 'the citizen Areius, whose philosophy and society, as well, he somehow enjoyed'; cf. Dio LI. 16. 4. Athenodorus of Tarsus was also highly esteemed as a teacher of Augustus; cf. Zon. X. 38. Alexander of Pergamum is mentioned in this capacity by Nicolas of Damascus (*Vit. Aug.* 17).

10. non tamen ut aut loqueretur, etc.: see Introd. II. § 8. *m.*

12. vertendum : *to be translated* into Greek. Dio (LI. 16. 4) states that the speech in which Augustus pardoned the Alexandrians was delivered in Greek.

13. poematum : sc. *Graecorum.*

14. comoedia veteri : the Old Attic Comedy of the fifth century B.C. Its most famous representatives are mentioned in Horace's familiar verse (*Sat.* I. 4. 1): *Eupolis atque Cratinus Aristophanesque poetae.*

22. Q. Metelli : according to Livy, this was Q. Caecilius Metellus

Macedonicus, consul of 143 B.C. and censor of 131 B.C., frequently mentioned as an extraordinary example of human happiness; cf. Liv., *Epit.* LIX: *Q. Metellus censor censuit ut cogerentur omnes ducere uxores liberorum creandorum causa. Exstat oratio eius quam Augustus Caesar, cum de maritandis ordinibus ageret, velut in haec tempora scriptam in senatu recitavit.* Aulus Gellius (I. 6. 1 f.) quotes a characteristic statement from his speech *de Ducendis Uxoribus*, but refers it to Q. Caecilius Metellus Numidicus, consul of 109 B.C. and censor of 102 B.C.: *Si sine uxore vivere possemus, Quirites, omni ea molestia careremus; sed quoniam ita natura tradidit ut nec cum illis satis commode, nec sine illis ullo modo vivi possit, saluti perpetuae potius quam brevi voluptati consulendum est.*

23. Rutili: P. Rutilius Rufus was the consul of 105 B.C., when this speech may have been delivered. While acting as *legatus* in 95 B.C. under Q. Mucius Scaevola, proconsul of Asia, his firmness and uprightness caused him to be feared and hated by the *publicani* and his impeachment followed his return to Rome. He went into banishment in 92 B.C. in the province where he had been accused of wrongdoing. Cf. Liv., *Epit.* LXX. He was a Stoic, an orator, an authority on legal questions, the author of a history in Greek and wrote his autobiography. The measure proposed apparently related to the height of houses. See Mayor's note on Juvenal, III. 269. Augustus limited the height to seventy feet; cf. Strab. V. 3. 7.

26. Ingenia: *men of genius;* cf. *Vesp.* 17, *ingenia et artes vel maxime fovit;* Tac., *Agr.* 2. 1, *monumenta clarissimorum ingeniorum.* **Recitantis**: on the general question of public and private recitations by aspiring authors in every department of literature thus represented see the remarkably complete note of Mayor on Juvenal, III. 9. Pliny's defense (*Ep.* VII. 17. 1 ff.) of public readings of orations, no less than of histories, the drama and lyric poetry, is interesting in this connection. Augustus is familiar to all as the patron of the poets Vergil and Horace, even offering Horace the position of private secretary to himself, according to Suetonius (*Vit. Hor.*).

28. Componi . . . aliquid: the accusative and infinitive construction after *offendere* is, apparently, found elsewhere only in Tac., *Agr.* 42. 3, *offensus non petitum*, and in Phaedr. IV. 11. 6, *ut non offendar subripi.* Analogous is the usage after *dolere* and *aegre ferre.* See Introd. II. § 9. *b.* (1).

29. offendebatur: on the other hand, Augustus demanded adequate recognition from those eminent writers who were tardy in their expressions of regard and commendation. According to Suetonius (*Vit. Hor.*),

book IV of Horace's Odes was directly due to the importunities of the imperial patron of letters. Horace's dedicatory epistle (*Ep.* II. 1), with his excuses for his apparent neglect of the emperor, is well known.

31. commissionibus: *prize declamations*, ἀγωνίσματα, such as might be delivered at the games merely for the sake of display. Caligula's criticism of Seneca was *commissiones meras componere;* cf. *Calig.* 53. 2. See Introd. II. § 1. *b*.

Chapter 90. Fear of Thunderstorms

32. Circa religiones talem accepimus: sc. *fuisse; we have heard that he was thus disposed respecting matters of religious belief;* see Introd. II. § 10. *d*. (1). *Religiones* refers to his feeling regarding portents and omens rather than his religious convictions. Cf. page 44, line 28, *quae religiones monerent.*

Page 98. **1. pellem vituli marini**: *a seal skin.* Pliny (*N. H.* II. 55. 146) states that lightning never strikes the laurel tree nor the seal *nec umquam quinque altius pedibus descendit in terram.* Tiberius, also, had great fear of thunder and lightning and always wore a laurel wreath during a storm *quod fulmine afflari negetur id genus frondis;* cf. *Tib.* 69. Caligula found a hiding-place under his bed at such times; cf. *Calig.* 51. 1.

3. abditum et concamaratum locum: *an underground, vaulted room.* For *concamaratum*, an unusual word, see Introd. II. § 1. *b*.

5. ut praediximus: see page 63, lines 8 ff.

Chapter 91. Belief in Dreams and Visions

6. Somnia . . . de se: see Introd. II. § 5. *t*.

7. Philippensi acie: see note to page 52, line 4. Velleius (II. 70. 1) credits his physician, Artorius, with giving the warning which saved his life: *Caesar . . . obibat munia ducis, oratus etiam ab Artorio medico ne in castris remaneret, manifesta denuntiatione quietis territo.* Valerius Maximus (I. 7. 1) adds: *Quod cum Caesar audisset, lectica se in aciem deferri iussit.* **tabernaculo**: see Introd. II. § 4. *u*.

10. quasi ibi cubans remansisset: *on the supposition that he was still lying there ill;* see Introd. II. § 8. *i*.

11. per omne ver: his Spring malady (page 93, line 19) would easily account for these visions of the night.

12. plurima et, etc.: note the polysyndeton; see Introd. II. § 10. *g*.

14. Tonanti Iovi: see note to page 62, line 26.

17. tintinnabulis: the porter remained near the door of a Roman house to answer the knocks of visitors. There is little, if any other, evidence that bells were used at the doors of private houses to make a visitor's presence known. It has been supposed that such *tintinnabula*, where used, may have been for the use of the porter, to inform his master of the arrival of a visitor. Dio, in his account of this incident (LIV. 4. 3 f.), has in mind the night watchman's bell, which was employed to give an alarm when necessary.

18. ianuis dependebant: the ablative with a preposition, *a* or *ex*, would be more usual; see Introd. II. § 4. *u*.

19. stipem quotannis, etc.: Dio (LIV. 35. 3 f.) discredits the story. It is hardly in keeping with what Suetonius has related of the emperor's reserve in such matters; cf. *Aug*. 57. 2. An action of this kind might be expected of Caligula; cf. *Calig*. 42, and see note to page 80, line 4. But propitiation of Nemesis in some such way was not unknown. Cf. Dio XLIII. 21. 2, LX. 23. 1, for acts of humility on the part of conquering Caesar and triumphing Claudius.

Chapter 92. Superstitions about Omens and Prodigies

22. perperam: *by mistake;* explained by *sinister pro dextro*, 'the left instead of the right'. This is on a par with the modern superstition respecting the putting on of garments with the wrong side out when dressing in the morning. Cf. Plin., *N. H.* II. 7. 24: *Divus Augustus prodidit laevum sibi calceum praepostere inductum quo die seditione militari prope adflictus est.*

24. rorasset: *there had been a drizzle.* **maturique et prosperi reditus**: *betokening an early and prosperous return;* see Introd. II. § 4. *b*. On the use of the adjective *laetum* in conjunction with the genitive see Introd. II. § 10. *a*.

27. conpluvium: *the inner court.* Strictly speaking, *compluvium* denoted the opening in the center of the *atrium* roof towards which the roof sloped so as to carry the rain water into a cistern in the floor called the *impluvium*. But *compluvium* and *impluvium* are sometimes employed less exactly to denote the whole uncovered space in the *atrium*. In the *atrium* of a Roman house were worshipped the *Lares* and *Penates*, the household gods of the family, and here was the center of family life.

28. Apud insulam Capreas: an extended use of *apud* to names

of islands and towns; see Introd. II. § 5. *e*. On Capri see note to page 104, line 7.

31. ut eas cum re p., etc.: the exchange was made in 29 B.C.; cf. Dio LII. 43. 2. The charming scenery and luxurious life of the Greeks of Neapolis, modern Naples, made it, too, a favorite resort with many Romans.

32. Aenaria: modern Ischia, lying in the Tyrrhenian sea not far from Cumae. Another name in antiquity was Pithecusa or Pithecusae (Πιθηκοῦσαι).

Page 99. **1. postridie nundinas**: *on the day following a market day.* The *nundinae* were held on the last day of the week of eight days, the Roman month being divided into periods of eight days. Countrymen rested on this day or came to Rome to transact business, to buy and sell. Assemblies and courts were not held on these market days. *Nundinum* (*tempus*) or *inter nundinum* means the entire period of eight days; every ninth day, according to Roman reckoning, being a market day. **Nonis**: the Calends, Ides and Nones were all considered unlucky for beginning any business.

2. quicquam rei seriae: see Introd. II. § 4. *e*.

3. δυσφημίαν: *the unlucky sound;* because *Nonis* resembles *non is* (from *eo*), or else simply because it seems to contain a negative. Cf. Cic., *de Div.* II. 40. 84: *Cum M. Crassus exercitum Brundisii imponeret, quidam in portu caricas Cauno advectas vendens 'Cauneas!' clamitabat. Dicamus, si placet, monitum ab eo Crassum caveret ne iret: non fuisse periturum si omini paruisset.*

Chapter 93. Attitude towards Foreign Religions

4. praeceptas: *well recognized.*

5. contemptui habuit: cf. page 75, line 26, *universos . . . curae habuit; Claud.* 15. 3, *ut passim ac propalam contemptui esset.* See Introd. II. § 4. *g*.

6. Athenis initiatus: *following his initiation at Athens* into the Eleusinian Mysteries in 31 B.C.; cf. Dio LI. 4. 1. **tribunali**: see note to page 61, line 24.

7. Atticae Cereris: *i.e.* Demeter, who, with her daughter Kore, was worshipped in the rites of Eleusis.

9. circumstantium: see Introd. II. § 3. *a*.

10. paulo deflectere: *make a slight detour;* here without *via:* cf.

Tac., *Hist.* II. 70, *Vulgus quoque militum . . . deflectere via.* See Introd. II. § 9. *b.* (1).

11. Apin: the sacred bull of Memphis, worshipped as a god among the Egyptians; cf. Herod. III. 27 ff. Dio (LI. 16. 5) quotes Augustus as saying 'it was his wont to bow the knee to gods, but not to bulls'.

12. apud Hierosolyma: see Introd. II. § 5. *e.* Possibly, Gaius had respected the wishes of the Jews regarding Gentiles' entering the temple; but this is not implied in the context.

Chapter 94. Portents at Birth and in Childhood. A Remarkable Child. Cicero's Dream

14. non ab re fuerit: *it may not be out of place;* see Introd. II. § 5. *a.* (6) and II. § 8. *a.*

18. Velitris: see note to page 46, line 1. **responsum est**: an *haruspex* would, naturally, be consulted on an occasion of this kind; see note to page 63, line 5.

20. Veliterni et tunc, etc.: see note to page 46, line 1, with references.

21. sui: genitive of the reflexive instead of the possessive pronominal adjective, *suum.*

24. Julius Marathus: see note to page 92, line 25. **ante paucos quam nasceretur menses**: notice the interlocking order of words; see Introd. II. § 5. *d.* (2). For the mood of *nasceretur* see Introd. II. § 8. *d.*

25. quo denuntiabatur, etc.: such prophecies of the birth of a child whose rule was to mark the Golden Age of Italy may have served as a model, in a sense, of such splendid strains of poetic grandeur as are to be found in Vergil's fourth Eclogue, however that poem is to be interpreted. It is not impossible that the Messianic prophecies were familiar, through the Septuagint, to some who dispensed these prophecies at Rome.

30. ad aerarium deferretur: the validity of these decrees was dependent upon their being filed at the *aerarium Saturni*, in the temple of Saturn at the southwestern corner of the Forum. Cf. Cic., *Phil.* V. 4. 12: *senatus consulta numquam facta ad aerarium deferebantur;* page 14, line 19, *lege iam in aes incisa et in aerarium condita.*

31. Asclepiadis Mendetis Theologumenon: Asclepiades of Mendes, a town in the Delta of the Nile, wrote a history of Egypt (Athen. III. 83 C.) and a treatise Θεολογούμενα (genitive, Θεολογουμένων of our text), 'Discourses' or 'Speculations on the Gods'. Aristotle wrote a work under the same title. Herodotus (II. 42 and 46) identifies a deity of the Egyptians, Mendes, worshipped in this town, with the Arcadian Pan.

32. Atiam: see *Aug.* 4. 1. Dio (XLV. 1. 2) gives the story as one told by Atia herself. **media nocte**: if such a visit of Roman matrons actually occurred, it looks as if it were chiefly concerned with the healing powers of Apollo. Such visits to the sanctuary of Aesculapius, particularly at Epidaurus, were quite familiar in Greece. Aristophanes depicts a visit of this nature in the *Plutus*.

Page 100. **2. draconem**: the serpent was the conventional means, among the Romans, of representing the *Genius*, the guardian spirit, and the *Genius* was often thus depicted, as may be seen from frescoes. See note to page 81, line 14.

4. purificasse se: probably, in order to avoid profanation of the religious rites.

8. prius quam pareret: observe the subjunctive in a statement of fact, and see Introd. II. § 8. *d.*

11. utero . . . exortum: cf. Plaut., *Amph.* 1092, *Ubi utero exorti dolores.* See Introd. II. § 4. *u.*

12. de Catilinae coniuratione: for the conspiracy of Lucius Sergius Catiline see Sallust's *Bellum Catilinae*, Cicero's four *Orationes Catilinariae* and Plutarch's *Vitae* of Cicero and Caesar. For Octavius's birthday see page 48, line 11, with notes.

14. P. Nigidium: P. Nigidius Figulus, praetor in 58 B.C., ranked next to Varro in the extent and profundity of his scholarship. His works dealt with grammatical and theological subjects and with various branches of natural science. He inclined particularly to the occult arts. Here he casts the horoscope of the infant Octavius. He was useful, as senator, in 63 B.C. to Cicero in his struggle with the Catilinarian conspirators. See Teuffel-Schwabe, *Hist. of Rom. Lit.* (Engl. Trans.), I. 265 ff.

17. secreta Thraciae: *remote parts of Thrace;* see note to page 47, line 19, and Introd. II. § 4. *e.* **Liberi patris**: a shrine of the god Dionysus in Thrace should evoke no comment, since he came into Greece as an emigrant from Thrace. See Jane E. Harrison, *Proleg. to the Study of Grk. Rel.*[2], ch. VIII, 363 ff.

19. infuso super altaria mero: wine would naturally be used in the worship of Dionysus. The manner in which fire dealt with libation or offering was frequently a means of divination.

21. Magno Alexandro: on the order of these words see Introd. II. § 10. *b.* (2). Since Alexander crossed Mt. Rhodope on his march against the Triballi in 335 B.C., it may be that the shrine of Dionysus here referred to was the oracle of that divinity mentioned by Herodotus (VII.

111); particularly since he states the oracles were delivered by the Bessi; see note to page 47, line 19. **apud easdem aras**: see Introd. II. § 5. *e.*

24. exuviis: *the insignia.* The *sceptrum*, *tunica palmata* and *toga picta* were taken from the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus to be worn by dictator, consul or praetor in triumphal processions; cf. Liv. X. 7. 10: *Qui Iovis optimi maximi ornatu decoratus curru aurato per urbem vectus in Capitolium ascenderit.*

25. radiata corona: evidently, this *crown with encircling rays* and the chariot with laurel garlands were conspicuous emblems of the triumphant ruler. But the laurel wreaths were usually confined to the person of the triumphant victor and his attendant lictors.

27. C. Drusum: not otherwise known. Müller would read *Caesarem Drusum.* The reference might thus be to the *laudatio* of Drusus, son of Tiberius, at the funeral of Augustus, as Stahr has proposed; cf. *Aug.* 100. 3. See note to page 51, line 21.

28. nutricula: a diminutive, but with no particular force here; see Introd. II. § 1. *e.*

30. contra: *facing;* see Introd. II. § 5. *h.* (1).

31. Cum primum . . . coepisset: the perfect indicative would be the usual construction; see Introd. II. § 8. *e.*

Page 101. **1. coaxare**: an onomatopoetic verb formed from the Greek κοάξ, so familiar to readers of the *Frogs* of Aristophanes because of the frog chorus at verses 209 ff. See Introd. II. § 1. *d.* **Campanae viae**: appears to be another name for the *Via Appia;* cf. Hor., *Sat.* I. 5. 24 with *C. I. L.* I. 1291. Dio (XLV. 2. 1) refers to the incident, but does not mention the place.

5. Q. Catulus: Q. Lutatius Catulus, consul of 78 B.C., was appointed to complete the restoration of the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, burned in 83 B.C., which had been begun by Sulla. He dedicated the restored temple in 69 B.C. Cf. *Jul.* 15, and see Platner, *Anc. Rome*², 300. Catulus died in 60 B.C., when Augustus was only three years old.

7. praetextatis: see note to page 73, line 14.

8. signum rei p.: *an image of Roma;* cf. Dio XLV. 2. 3 f. for a similar account of the dream.

11. tamquam . . . educaretur: see Introd. II. § 8. *i* for the usage.

13. cum incognitum alias haberet: *although he did not otherwise know him.*

16. quasi Iuppiter . . . demonstrasset, etc.: for the more usual infinitive with subject accusative of indirect narration; see Introd. II. § 6. *n.*

18. osculum delibatum, etc.: *had received the (boy's) light kiss upon his fingers and carried it to his own lips.*

20. M. Cicero . . . prosecutus: consuls would be attended by throngs of friends when they went to the Capitol on January first to offer sacrifice at the beginning of their term of office. The present passage has been thought to refer to the triumphal celebration of Julius Caesar in 46 B.C. Augustus seems to have had a part in it. See note to page 49, line 22.

25. avunculus Caesar: for the order see Introd. II. § 10. *b*. (1).

26. secundum quietem: *in his dream, while asleep;* cf. Cic., *de Div*. II. 61. 126, *cur secundum quietem aliquid videre, audire, agere videamur.* See Introd. II. § 5. *p*.

28. Sumenti virilem togam: see note to page 49, line 21. **tunica lati clavi**: *his senatorial tunic*, bearing the broad purple stripe; see Introd. II. § 4. *b*, for the case of *lati clavi.* This must have been one of the honors conferred on Augustus by his uncle, since he was not yet a senator. **resuta**: *ripped open;* cf. Dio XLV. 2. 5, for a similar account. See Introd. II. § 1. *a*.

30. is ordo: the senatorial, represented by the *latus clavus* he wore.

32. Apud Mundam: the battle occurred on March 17, 45 B.C.; see note to page 49, line 27. Cf. Dio XLIII. 41. 2 ff., for a like account.

Page 102. **1. arborem palmae**: observe the appositional or explanatory genitive; see Introd. II. § 4. *f*.

4. matricem: *the parent stem.*

9. Apolloniae: see note to page 49, line 31. **Theogenis mathematici pergulam**: *the studio of the astrologer Theogenes.* This was probably an observatory at the top of the house. Theogenes, it seems, has not been otherwise identified. Respecting astrologers at Rome in the early empire see Mayor's note on Juvenal, XIV. 248. For *mathematicus* in this sense compare *Tib*. 14. 2, *de infante Scribonius mathematicus praeclara spopondit; Tib*. 36, *Expulit et mathematicos.*

10. Agrippa: Maecenas, Agrippa, Juventius and others accompanied Octavius to Apollonia; cf. Nic. Dam., *Vit. Aug*. 13.

12. genituram: *the time of his birth; i.e.* the hour, by which his horoscope would be cast: see Introd. II. § 1. *b*. Cf. *Calig*. 57. 2: *Consulenti quoque de genitura sua Sulla mathematicus certissimam necem appropinquare affirmavit; Ner*. 6. 1, *De genitura eius statim multa et formidulosa multis coiectantibus; Vit*. 3. 2, *Genituram eius praedictam a mathematicis ita parentes exhorruerunt.*

16. thema: *horoscope;* determined by certain calculations respecting the hour of his birth and the position of the constellation dominant at the time. Augustus violated his own enactment in making his horoscope public; cf. Dio LVI. 25. 5. See Introd. II. § 1. *d*.

17. Capricorni: the sun enters this zodiacal sign at the winter solstice. Horace's *tyrannus Hesperiae Capricornus undae* (*Od.* II. 17. 19 f.) points to the kind of weather it was expected to bring. The calendar must have been sorely in need of rectification if Octavius was born with this constellation predominant.

Chapter 95. Portents Experienced by Augustus

19. ingrediente eo urbem: see note to page 50, line 4.

20. sereno: from *serenum*, *clear sky.*

22. monimentum: the tomb of Julia, who was the wife of Pompey the Great and died in 54 B.C., in the Campus Martius; cf. page 43, lines 15 f., *in Martio campo iuxta Iuliae tumulum.*

23. augurium capienti: sc. *ei; while taking the auspices.* The auspices were regularly taken by the magistrate before elections of officials, before assuming an office, before meetings of the *comitia* as a legislative body and before setting out for a campaign. See Abbott, *Rom. Polit. Inst.*[2], 158 ff.

24. ut Romulo: also at a time of consulting the auguries; cf. Liv. I. 7. 1. **immolanti**: *when slaying the victims;* used without an object, as on page 31, line 7, *Cum immolanti aufugisset hostia.* In both passages the object is readily supplied from the context.

25. replicata intrinsecus, etc.: *doubled inward at the lowest part.* Dio (XLVI. 35. 4) relates the incident as having occurred at Mutina.

26. paruerunt: = *apparuerunt;* see Introd. II. § 1. *b*.

Chapter 96. Signs and Portents

28. ante praesensit: pleonastic; see Introd. II. § 10. *e*.

29. Contractis ad Bononiam, etc.: in November, 43 B.C., at the formation of the triumvirate; see note to page 52, line 3.

31. afflixit et ad terram dedit: *made a dash at and brought to earth;* cf. Dio XLVII. 1. 3, for his account of the occurrence.

Page 103. **1. atque**: *-que* is supplied by Torrentius. . . . : Boot supposed there was a lacuna here and proposed that *Eunti* be supplied to

fill it. This would better be read if we are to accept *Philippos*, also proposed by Boot, as Ihm does.

3. cuius sibi species, etc.: cf. Dio XLVII. 41. 2. **itinere**: see Introd. II. § 4. *r*.

4. non litanti: *without obtaining a favorable omen.* In Greek both καλλιερεῖν and καλλιερεῖσθαι are used of the person; καλλιερεῖν alone of the victim. *Litare* is also applied to the victim in *Oth.* 8. 3, *victima Diti patri caesa litavit.*

5. subita eruptione: cf. page 53, lines 3 ff.

6. rei divinae: see note to page 46, line 5.

8. exta: see note to page 46, line 6.

9. Pridie quam . . . committeret: see Introd. II. § 8. *d*.

10. deambulanti in litore, etc.: Dio (XLIX. 5. 5) says the incident happened after the defeat near Messina.

12. asellus: see Introd. II. § 1. *e*. **Eutychus**: the Greek word, εὐτυχής, means 'fortunate', 'prosperous'. Cf. Plut., *Ant.* LXV, for the story.

13. Nicon: = νικῶν, 'victorious', present active participle of νικάω.

14. templo: see note to page 56, line 9.

Chapter 97. Omens of Death. Last Days of Augustus

16. divinitas: *deification.*

18. lustrum: see note to page 61, line 30. The sacrifice was the so-called *suovetaurilia*, consisting of a pig, a sheep and a bull.

20. vicinam aedem: the Pantheon; see note to page 63, line 22.

22. collegam: *i.e.* in the office for holding the census, though not as censors, but *cum imperio consulari.* See note to page 61, line 30. Tiberius was Augustus's colleague in 14 A.D.; cf. *M. A.* VIII. 2. 8 f.: *Tertium consulari cum imperio lustrum conlega Tib. Caesare filio feci Sex. Pompeio et Sex. Appuleio cos.*

23. quanquam . . . tabulis: see Introd. II. § 6. *l*. The vows were recorded on these tablets..

27. responsum est: by the *haruspices;* see note to page 63, line 5.

28. futurumque . . . referretur: *he would be numbered among the gods.*

29. quod aesar, etc.: cf. Dio LVI. 29. 4 for a like account. **Caesaris nomine**: note the appositional genitive, and see Introd. II. § 4. *f*.

31. Illyricum: Velleius (II. 123. 1) states that he was to be sent *ad*

firmanda pace quae bello subegerat. Tacitus (*Ann.* I. 5. 5) thinks Tiberius was summoned by his mother to return immediately upon his arrival in Illyricum, while Dio (LVI. 31. 1) says that Livia concealed the death of Augustus until Tiberius returned to Italy. **dimissurus**, etc.: expresses purpose; see Introd. II. § 9. *a.* (1). **Beneventum**: modern Benevento, sixty miles by rail from Naples. Here stands Trajan's Triumphal Arch, erected in 114 A.D.

Page 104. 4. **Asturam**: Augustus made the journey by sea, resting at Astura (modern Torre Astura), an islet between Antium (modern Anzio) and Circeii. Here he seems to have had a villa, like others before and since his time. Cf. *Tib.* 72. 2: *Rediens ergo propere Campaniam Asturae in languorem incidit, quo paulum levatus Cerceios pertendit.*

5. **de nocte ad occasionem**, etc.: *set sail in the night, taking advantage of a fair wind;* cf. *Vesp.* 21, *de nocte vigilabat.* **ad occasionem**: see Introd. II. § 5. *b.* (4).

Chapter 98. Last Acts. Tiberius is Summoned

7. **circuitis**: used with *ora* by a kind of zeugma; see Introd. II. § 10. *c.* **Capr earum**: see note to page 98, line 31. W. B. McDaniel suggests that the name *Capreae* may have had some connection with 'the possibility that the large island with its islets figured originally as the "Wild Goats", *Capreae*'. See his article in *T. A. P. A.*, XLV (1914). 34. n. 19.

10. **Puteolanum sinum**: here St. Paul landed on his first journey to Rome; cf. *The Acts of the Apostles*, XXVIII. 13. Puteoli would be the natural port of entry from Alexandria; see note to page 73, line 6.

11. **tantum quod**: see note to page 82, line 11.

12. **fausta omina**: cf. page 80, line 13, with note.

13. **per illum**, etc.: note the anaphora here.

16. **aureos**: see note to page 80, line 12. Cf. Introd. II. § 3. *b.* **iusque iurandum et cautionem**: *a pledge under oath;* hendiadys: see Introd. II. § 10. *i.*

19. **Sed et**: see Introd. II. § 6. *e.*

20. **pallia**: *cloaks.* The *pallium* was the distinctive dress of the Greeks, as the *toga* was that of the Romans.

21. **Romani Graeco**: as we have seen (*Aug.* 89. 1), Augustus set the fashion of giving due attention to the Greek language. Many Romans both spoke and wrote in Greek, as may be seen from the passages collected by Mayor on Juvenal, XV. 110.

22. ephebos : = ἐφήβους; see Introd. II. § 1. *d.* These *ephebi* were Greek youths past the age of eighteen, but not yet possessed of full citizen rights, who had prescribed military and gymnastic training as a part of their education. Capreae still preserved the Greek training, having belonged to Naples until quite recently; see note to page 98, line 31.

25. diripiendi : *scrambling for;* cf. Quint., *Inst.*, VI. 1. 47 : *talos iecit in medium, quos illi diripere coeperunt.* See Introd. II. § 9. *c.* (4).

26. missilia : *presents thrown* by the emperor. The missing word is, probably, *omnium*, 'of all sorts', proposed by C. F. W. Müller; cf. *Ner.* 11. 2, *sparsa et populo missilia omnium rerum per omnes dies.* In our passage, as in the one just quoted, the genitives are appositional or epexegetical; see Introd. II. § 4. *f.*

28. Vicinam Capreis insulam : *an island near Capri;* the explanation of these words that is most simple and most plausible, topographically as well as grammatically, as has been pointed out by W. B. McDaniel in *T. A. P. A.* XLV (1914). 29 ff. The writer of this article has argued convincingly that the island here referred to was the islet which is to-day known as Il Monacone, 'Great Monk', to the east of the Faraglioni group of precipitous cliffs. To this islet, then, Augustus gave the name 'Apragopolis' when members of his party frequently resorted thither to while away their idle hours. Masgaba, it would seem, was the leader in these diversions and, at his death, was honored with a tomb at the spot which he had once made so popular as to attract the emperor's notice when, from his villa, he observed members of his retinue in their repeated excursions to this place. Here, too, the anniversary of Masgaba's death was celebrated in the manner indicated in the emperor's verses. **Apragopolim** : *Community* or *Land of Do-Nothings;* a Greek name made up from ἀ privative + $\sqrt{}$πραγ- (cf. πράσσω) + πόλις. See L. and S., *s. v.* πόλις, III.

30. Masgaban : since Masgaba was the name of a son of King Masinissa, this favorite of Augustus was, possibly, a Numidian or an African by descent; see Liv. XLV. 13.

31. Κτίστην : the Greek word for the 'founder' of a city or colony. The joke consists in the fact that the islet was, probably, no more than a barren rock.

Page 105. **3. Κτίστου δὲ**, etc. : *I see a founder's tomb ablaze with fire.*

4. Thrasyllum : cf. *Tib.* 14. 4 : *Thrasyllum quoque mathematicum, quem ut sapientiae professorem contubernio admoverat;* also, *Tib.* 62. 3 ; *Calig.* 19. 3. See note to page 102, line 9.

7. 'Ορᾷς φάεσσι, etc. : *dost see Masgaba honored now with lights?*

10. cachinnum sustulit, etc. : *set up a loud laugh and gave himself over to jesting.* Evidently, he was twitting Thrasyllus on his powers of prophecy. Cf. *Calig.* 32. 3, *effusus subito in cachinnos.*

11. quanquam . . . intestinis : see Introd. II. § 6. *l.*

12. morbo variante : *because of intermittent attacks.* **quinquennale certamen** : see note to page 81, line 9. Cf. Vell. II. 123. 1 : *simulque interfuturus athletarum certaminis ludicro quod eius honori sacratum a Neapolitanis est.*

13. honori suo : see Introd. II. § 4. *g.*

14. destinatum locum : *his destination; i.e.* Beneventum : see note to page 103, line 31.

15. Nolae : modern Nola, in Campania, twenty-two miles by rail from Naples. Eutropius (VII. 8. 4) says : *Obiit . . . in oppido Campaniae Atella.* The other authorities are pretty generally agreed on Nola ; cf. Dio (-Xiph.) LVI. 29. 2 ; Tac., *Ann.* I. 5. 5. **revocatumque ex itinere**, etc. : Tacitus (*Ann.* I. 5. 5) says it is doubtful whether Augustus was alive when Tiberius arrived. Velleius (II. 123. 2) agrees with Suetonius. Dio (LVI. 30. 2) relates the slanderous story of Livia's having hastened the emperor's death with poisoned figs.

Chapter 99. Last Words

18. exquirens an : *an = num;* see Introd. II. § 6. *b.* (2).

19. capillum sibi comi, etc. : the accusative and infinitive occur after *praecipere* also in *Ner.* 31. 3, *etiam scelere convictos non nisi ad opus damnari praeceperat.* See Introd. II. § 9. *b.* (1).

20. corrigi : *be set straight.* They were falling open (*labantes*) because of weakness. For the use of the infinitive see Introd. II. § 9. *b.* (1).

21. mimum : cf. note to page 74, line 22. The comparison of life to a play was a common one. Dio (LVI. 30. 4) says : 'And when now, like the buffoons, he had asked for some applause from them, just as at the end of a mime, he made jests upon quite all the life of mankind.'

23–24. 'Επεὶ δὲ πάνυ, etc. : J. C. Rolfe translates (I. 281):

Since well I've played my part, all clap your hands
And from the stage dismiss me with applause.

The restoration of the first line is Bücheler's. The last word of the second line was proposed by Bentley and Roth. The author of the verses is not known.

26. Drusi filia: Livilla, daughter of Drusus and Antonia and sister of Germanicus and Claudius; cf. *Claud.* 1. 6.

32. quotiens audisset: see Introd. II. § 8. *h.*

Page 106. 1. cito ac nullo cruciatu: collocation of adverb and modal ablative; see Introd. II. § 10. *a.*

2. εὐθανασίαν: *an easy death;* a late Greek word and rarely used; see Introd. II. § 1. *d.* Cf. Cic., *ad Att.* XVI. 7. 3: *Illud admirari satis non potui, quod scripsisti his verbis: 'Bene igitur tu, qui εὐθανασίαν, bene relinques patriam?'*

7. milites praetoriani: *soldiers of the praetorian guard;* see note to page 76, line 6.

Chapter 100. Death at Nola, August 19, 14 A.D. Funeral Honors. Eulogies. His Mausoleum

9. in cubiculo eodem: cf. Tac., *Ann.* I. 9. 1: *Multus hinc ipso de Augusto sermo, plerisque vana mirantibus, quod idem dies accepti quondam imperii princeps et vitae supremus, quod Nolae in domo et cubiculo in quo pater eius Octavius vitam finivisset.* **duobus Sextis**: Sextus Appuleius and Sextus Pompeius, consuls of 14 A.D. Cf. Dio (-Xiph.) LVI. 29. 2; Tac., *Ann.* I. 7. 2 f.

10. XIIII. Kal. Septemb.: August nineteenth. This statement of the age of Augustus is, obviously, based upon the reformed Julian calendar. Cf. Dio LVI. 30. 5.

13. decuriones: cf. page 74, line 32, and note. **a Nola**: see Introd. II. § 5. *a.* (2).

14. Bovillas: Bovillae, a colony of Alba Longa lying at the base of the Alban Mount on the *Via Appia*, ten or twelve miles from Rome. **noctibus**: *in the night time*, as opposed to *interdiu;* see Introd. II. § 4. *q.*

15. basilica: = βασιλική (sc. οἰκία or στοά); see Introd. II. § 1. *d.* Cf. note to page 63, line 13.

16. equester ordo suscepit: this privilege was demanded of the consuls by the *equites*, their request being conveyed by the future emperor Claudius; cf. *Claud.* 6. 1: *Equester ordo bis patronum eum perferendae pro se legationis elegit, semel cum deportandum Romam corpus Augusti umeris suis ab consulibus exposceret*, etc. See Dio LVI. 31. 2.

18. in funere ornando: *in making his funeral a notable one.*

20. triumphali porta: the funeral cortège was to pass through the gate by which those celebrating a triumph would begin their march

into the city. Its exact location is unknown, but it is thought that it stood near the Villa Publica, in the Campus Martius, in the vicinity of the modern Piazza del Gesù. No traces of this arch have been discovered. Domitian may have restored the one that existed in his day; cf. *Dom.* 13. 2: *Ianos arcusque cum quadrigis et insignibus triumphorum per regiones urbis tantos ac tot extruxit ut cuidam Graece inscriptum sit: arci.* See Platner, *Anc. Rome*², 345 f. Tacitus (*Ann.* I. 8. 4) refers to this same motion in the senate; cf. Dio LVI. 42. 1.

21. Victoria quae est in curia: the statue placed by Augustus himself in the *curia Iulia.* Dio (LI. 22. 1) states that it probably indicated 'that he had received his dominion from her'.

23. anulos aureos: to replace the gold ring, which might now be worn by any *ingenuus*, with an iron one would indicate general and deep mourning.

24. ossa legenda: the office of collecting the ashes from the funeral pyre would naturally devolve upon the near relatives of the deceased. **summorum collegiorum**: *i.e.* the *pontifices*, *augures*, *septemviri Epulones* and *quindecimviri.* Cf. Dio LIII. 1. 5; *M. A.* IX. 2. 17, *sacerdotum quattuor amplissima collegia.*

25. mensis Augusti: see note to page 64, line 15.

29. in fastos referretur: *entered in the calendar.* **adhibito honoribus modo**: cf. Tac., *Ann.* I. 8. 6: *Conclamant patres corpus ad rogum umeris senatorum ferendum. Remisit Caesar adroganti moderatione, populumque edicto monuit ne, ut quondam nimiis studiis funus divi Iulii turbassent, ita Augustum in foro potius quam in campo Martis, sede destinata, cremari vellent.*

30. aede Divi Iuli: in 42 B.C. Augustus decided to build a temple to the deified Caesar on the spot where the body of Julius Caesar was burned at the east end of the Forum; cf. *M. A.* XIX. 4. 2; *Jul.* 84. 3 f., 85. The temple was completed several years later and dedicated on August 18, 29 B.C.; cf. Dio LI. 22. 1. Hadrian afterwards restored it, and it seems that there was a still later restoration, possibly in the fourth century of the Christian era. The *laudatio* of Tiberius was apparently delivered from the projection in front of the temple called the *rostra aedis divi Iuli;* cf. Dio LVI. 34. 4. See Platner, *Anc. Rome*², 183 ff.

31. rostris veteribus: the Rostra from which the Roman orators addressed the people was the famous platform on the south side of the republican Comitium, so situated that a speaker could address an assembly either in the Comitium or in the Forum. After Caesar's plan of removing the Rostra to the Forum had been executed, the Rostra of the empire was

a long platform across the west end of the Forum. Cf. Dio XLIII. 49. 1 ff., and see Platner, *Anc. Rome*², 220 ff.

32. senatorum umeris, etc. ; cf. Tac., *Ann.* I. 8. 6, quoted in note to line 29, above. Furneaux, in a note on the Tacitus passage, observes that this honor had previously been paid to Sulla, citing Appian, *B. C.* I. 106. 497 ff. Dio (LVI. 42. 1) states that both knights and senators participated as pall bearers. The honor of burial in the Campus Martius was also accorded Julius Caesar, but the obsequies were interrupted and his body was burned in the Forum ; cf. *Jul.* 84. 3 f.

Page 107. **1. vir praetorius**: Dio (LVI. 46. 2) gives his name, Numerius Atticus, and accuses Livia of having bribed him to make this statement.

2. Reliquias legerunt: Dio (LVI. 42. 4) says : 'But Livia, of course, remained on the ground for five days, along with the leading knights, and collected his bones and deposited them in the Mausoleum.'

3. tunicati et discincti : *wearing only their tunics and without their girdles.* See note to page 59, line 5.

4. Mausoleo : called also *tumulus Caesarum* or *tumulus Iuliorum;* cf. Tac., *Ann.* III. 9. 2, XVI. 6. 2. It was erected, in 28 B.C., in the northern part of the Campus Martius. The central chamber was the tomb of Augustus himself. From this radiated twelve chambers, intended for other members of the imperial family. A colossal bronze statue of Augustus surmounted the terrace which was above the two stories of the mortuary chambers. Remains of the Mausoleum are still in existence. See Platner, *Anc. Rome*², 382 f. For the case of *Mausoleo* see Introd. II. § 4. *r.*

Chapter 101. Last Will and Testament. Heirs and Public Legacies. *Res Gestae*

8. L. Planco . . . Apriles : *i.e.* April 3, 13 A.D.

9. ante . . . quam decederet : see Introd. II. § 8. *d.*

10. duobus codicibus : *in two copies; i.e.* in duplicate, both copies being original ones. Cf. Justin., *Instit.* II. 10. 13 : *Sed et unum testamentum pluribus codicibus conficere quis potest, secundum obtinentem tamen observationem omnibus factis : quod interdum etiam necessarium est, veluti si quis navigaturus et secum ferre et domi relinquere iudiciorum suorum contestationem velit, vel propter alias innumerabiles causas quae humanis necessitatibus imminent.* The *Digest* (I. 28. 24) has the phrase,

pluribus exemplis, in this same connection. Cf. *Tib.* 76: *Testamentum duplex ante biennium fecerat, alterum sua, alterum liberti manu, sed eodem exemplo.* For this use of the ablative see Introd. II. § 4. *r.*

12. virgines Vestales: with whom documents of importance were often deposited. The will of Julius Caesar had been entrusted to the *virgo Vestalis maxima;* cf. page 43, lines 2 f. **cum tribus . . . voluminibus**: *together with three rolls, likewise sealed.*

13. Quae omnia in senatu, etc.: cf. Tac., *Ann.* I. 8. 1: *Nihil primo senatus die agi passus est nisi de supremis Augusti, cuius testamentum inlatum per virgines Vestae Tiberium et Liviam heredes habuit; Tib.* 23, *Inlatum deinde Augusti testamentum, non admissis signatoribus nisi senatorii ordinis, ceteris extra curiam signa agnoscentibus, recitavit per libertum.* Tiberius had summoned the senate, *iure tribuniciae potestatis* (*Tib.*, l. c.). Dio (-Xiph. LVI. 32. 1) says the freedman who read the will was Polybius. It was, of course, not customary for wills to be presented to the senate. No senator would perform a duty of this kind 'as it was unbecoming', says Dio (-Xiph. LVI. 32. 1), 'for a senator to do any such reading'.

15. ex parte dimidia et sextante: *as heir to two-thirds of the estate* (lit. *one-half and one-sixth*). Cf. *Tib.* 23: *Testamenti initium fuit: Quoniam atrox fortuna Gaium et Lucium filios mihi eripuit, Tiberius Caesar mihi ex parte dimidia et sextante heres esto.* Dio (-Xiph.) states (LVI. 32. 1) that 'two-thirds of the inheritance were left to Tiberius and the remainder to Livia, according to the statement of some; for in order that she, too, might have the use of some part of his estate, he obtained his request from the senate that he might leave so large an amount to her, also, even contrary to law'. Of course, these would be the proportionate parts received by the two main heirs after special bequests had been executed. See note to page 43, line 8.

16. et ferre nomen: *i.e. Augustus* and *Augusta.* Tiberius already bore the name of Caesar by adoption, but did not adopt the title Augustus until it had been voted him by the senate. Cf. Dio LVII. 2. 1 f. Tacitus (*Ann.* I. 8. 2) merely states: *Livia in familiam Iuliam nomenque Augustum adsumebatur.*

16. secundos: *in the second degree;* while *tertio gradu* (line 18) means 'in the third degree'. See note to page 43, line 12. Cf. Tac., *Ann.* I. 8. 2: *in spem secundam nepotes pronepotesque, tertio gradu primores civitatis scripserat, plerosque invisos sibi, sed iactantia gloriaque ad posteros.* **Drusum**: Drusus died in 23 A.D.

18. liberosque eius tres sexus virilis: the three sons of Germani-

cus were Nero, Drusus and Gaius (Caligula); see note to page 82, line 24. Macé (*Essai sur Suétone*, 131. n. 9) believes that the words here used by Suetonius, instead of the more direct *filios*, are a circumlocution borrowed from Augustus's own phraseology. Compare, however, page 106, line 22, *liberis utriusque sexus*. For the case of *sexus virilis* see Introd. II. § 4. *b*.

20. tribubus: probably, both the tribes with which Augustus was connected; see note to page 69, line 20. Lipsius suggested *tribulibus* as the reading here, as *tribulibus* is now read in the passage just cited.

21. praetorianis: see note to page 76, line 6. **cohortibus urbanis**: see note to page 76, line 1.

23. repraesentari: *to be paid immediately;* cf. *Calig.* 16. 3: *Legata . . . repraesentata persolvit; Claud.* 18. 1, *repraesentans pro opera dignam cuique mercedem; Oth.* 5. 2, *omnibus dena sestertia repraesentata et quinquagena promissa.* **confiscatam**: *laid away in his private coffers*, *i.e.* the *fiscus;* see note to page 69, line 31.

26. annuum diem finiit: *fixed a period ending a year from that time.* **rei familiaris**: *private property.*

28. professus: observe coördination with the ablative absolute, *excusata . . . mediocritate*, preceding; see Introd. II. § 10. *a*. **quamvis viginti proximis**, etc.; cf. *Aug.* 66. 4.

30. duobus paternis patrimoniis: what he had received from his own father, Octavius, and his adoptive father, Julius, who made him his *heres ex dodrante;* cf. *Jul.* 83. 2. See note to page 50, line 1.

32. Iulias: see note to page 83, line 9. **si quid iis accidisset**: a common euphemism to express 'at their death'. Cf. Dio (-Xiph.) LVI. 32. 4.

Page 108. **1. Tribus voluminibus**: Dio (-Xiph. LVI. 33. 1 ff.) mentions four of these documents. The first three correspond in their contents with those enumerated by Suetonius. The fourth contained 'commands and injunctions for Tiberius and the people' respecting the future policy and functions of the government of the empire. To this political testament Suetonius makes no reference. Macé (*Essai sur Suétone*, 150) concludes that Suetonius does not mention the fourth volume because it was not in the archives which were ransacked by our author, so confident was he of the accuracy of his personal investigations and his epitome of the emperor's last will and words. Macé thinks, therefore, that this last chapter is the result of the author's personal labors upon the original documents, without any additions drawn from other sources. The fourth document was of a more personal nature and not in the archives, but in the hands of Tiberius. Tiberius might make it known to

whom he wished and in the manner that suited him best. Its nature might thus become known and its contents repeated by others. Tacitus, as well as Dio, may have read or heard of such a fourth document. Cf. Tac., *Ann.* I. 11. 5 ff.: *proferri libellum recitarique iussit. Opes publicae continebantur, quantum civium sociorumque in armis, quot classes, regna, provinciae, tributa aut vectigalia, et necessitates ac largitiones. Quae cuncta sua manu perscripserat Augustus addideratque consilium coercendi intra terminos imperii, incertum metu an per invidiam.* The last statement of the Tacitus passage can hardly refer to the *breviarium* and must have reference to the fourth document mentioned by Dio. Cf. note to page 57, line 15.

2. indicem rerum a se gestarum: *an account of his achievements.* Macé (*Essai sur Suétone*, 137) points out that our author's use of *vellet* (line 8), rather than *voluit*, indicates that the emperor's wish of having this record inscribed on bronze tablets was not realized. The greater part of an exact copy inscribed on marble in Greek and Latin characters has been preserved at Ancyra (modern Angora), in Galatia, in Asia Minor. This is the *Monumentum Ancyranum* so often quoted in these notes. There are also fragments of a copy at Apollonia in Pisidia. The title of this inscription, thrice repeated, seems to prove conclusively that the original copy was engraved on *pilae*, columns or pillars, which stood in front of the Mausoleum at Rome: *Rerum gestarum divi Augusti . . . incisarum in duabus aheneis pilis, quae sunt Romae positae, exemplar subiectum.* Dio (-Xiph. LVI. 33. 1) states that Augustus 'gave orders that they should be inscribed on bronze *stelae* placed near the Mausoleum'. The reproductions in the provinces were, apparently, inscribed on temples of Augustus and Rome; see note to page 77, line 19. The Greek version was in the κοινὴ διάλεκτος, the Greek language as commonly spoken in polite circles at that time. The best text is that restored and revised by Theodor Mommsen, *Res Gestae Divi Augusti*, 1883. See Introd. I, pages XIV ff.

4. breviarium totius imperii: *a tabulated schedule of the state of the entire empire.* In *Galb.* 12. 3, *breviarium rationum* means 'an abstract of accounts'. The *rationes imperii ab Augusto proponi solitas* of *Calig.* 16. 1 refers to the 'balance sheet' that was periodically published. See note to page 62, line 7. Cf. Tac., *Ann.* I. 11. 5 ff., quoted above in note to line 1. See Introd. II. § 1. *b.*

6. aerario et fiscis: *the public and imperial treasuries.* See note to page 69, line 31. **vectigaliorum residuis**: *arrears of taxes.* The form *vectigaliorum* occurs again in *Calig.* 16. 3, while the more common form is found in *Tib.* 49. 2.

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